Code-switching, Structural change and Convergence: *A study of Sesotho in contact with English in Lesotho*

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis is my authentic work except where otherwise stated. I also declare that, to the best of my knowledge this work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this thesis from the works of other people has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate Date: _____

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Abstract

This study investigates whether code-switching practices among Sesotho-English bilinguals promote convergence between Sesotho and English. First, the study identifies different types and patterns of code-switching between Sesotho and English and analyses them using Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame model and Myers-Scotton and Jake's (2000) 4-M model. Second, it applies the ML turnover in order to detect convergence in Sesotho-English code-switching data and to observe which direction it takes. The study also explores other factors contributing to change in the structure of Sesotho, which are not necessarily influenced by convergence. In conducting this study, data was collected through interviews that were held with younger bilingual speakers from different tertiary institutions in and around Maseru (Lesotho) and through recorded youth-centred phone-in radio programmes. Findings from the analysis of data reveal simple to complex Sesotho-English code-switching performance of various types and strategies. Findings also show through the existence of composite language in Sesotho-English code-switching that there is a turnover in the ML, which indicates a development of an asymmetrical convergence between Sesotho and English. It was also discovered that, although other changes in the Sesotho structure are not English influenced, they are enhanced mostly by younger urban bilingual speakers' frequent "looser" approach to Sesotho. This is an indication that Sesotho's susceptibility to change correlates strongly with age; that is, both the length of time contact between Sesotho and English has existed, and the generation in which change is mostly found. This thesis adds and documents a different perspective to the previously recorded changes on Sesotho-English contact in Lesotho.

Keywords*: code-switching, convergence, structural change, Matrix Language Frame model, 4-M model, ML turnover*

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List of Abbreviations

BSAE – Black South African English

CC - code-copying

CS – Code-switching

EC – Equivalence Constraint

EL – embedded language

Eng – English

L1 – First Language

L2 – Second Language

LsE – Lesotho English

LSo – Lesotho Sesotho orthography

ML – Matrix Language

MLT – Matrix Language Turnover

NE - New English

NUGL – New Updated Guthrie List

NUL – National University of Lesotho

SASo – South African Sesotho orthography

SLA – Second Language Acquisition

St S – standard Sesotho

WE – World English

Other Grammatical symbols and abbreviations

Gloss	Meaning
Ø	Zero
1-10, 14,15	noun classes
1st	first person
2nd	second person
3rd	third person
ADV	adverbial
AFF	affirmative
ANA	anaphoric
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuous
COP	copula
CP	complementizer clause
D	derivative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
FIN	finite
GEN	genitive
INF	infinitive
INT	interrogative
FV	final vowel
LOC	locative
M	mood
NCl	Noun class
NEG	negative
OM	object marker
PASS	passive
PART	participle

PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PRF	perfective
PRN	pronoun
PRS	present
PROG	progressive
PST	past
PTCL	particle
REL	relative
RDP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
SM	subject marker

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The vast majority of published research on the grammatical structure of code-switching, including the earliest works (Poplack 1978; 1980; Sankoff and Poplack 1981; Appel and Muysken 1987; Myers-Scotton 1993; 1997; Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995) to recent research (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000; 2009; Myers-Scotton 2002; Muysken 2013) reflects interest in this practice that was already widespread, among fluent bilingual and multilingual speakers worldwide. This study draws heavily on the theories from these works. It also reviews research of a similar nature conducted on Sesotho and English. Previous research on Sesotho-English code-switching (CS) in Lesotho has focused mainly on code-switching performance within the classroom and/or school context amongst primary and high school level bilingual children (Akindele and Letsoela 2001; Khati 2008; Moloi 2008). The current study differs from the previous ones in that it focuses on CS performance within the community, outside the school setting among Sesotho-English bilingual younger speakers. It also goes beyond the scope of CS as it investigates whether CS promotes convergence. This study discusses both CS and convergence individually using Myers-Scotton's (1993 and its updates) models and Muysken's (1997; 2013) CS strategies to identify CS patterns found in Sesotho-English CS, and establish how one phenomenon leads to the other.

Code-switching is generally defined as an alternation of linguistic elements between two or more languages or codes. It is a language contact phenomenon found in highly bilingual communities or as Mesthrie *et al* (2000:242) put it, "... code-switching ... is a phenomenon arising out of language contact *par excellence*." This is a situation whereby languages, out of having coexisted side by side for centuries, develop parallel structures such that the linguistic features of language

X can easily replace those of language Y. This also means that linguistic elements switched between these languages or codes during CS performance vary from singly-occurring lexical elements to chunks of conversational turns depending on the intentions and sometimes the speakers' level of competence in the languages involved. The discussion of CS in this study makes use of Poplack's (1980:615) categorization of switched linguistic elements into inter-sentential, tag and intra-sentential switches. The study also utilizes Muysken's (1997; 2013) division of switched linguistic elements into four patterns or strategies of CS, which are alternation, insertion, congruent lexicalization and backflagging to identify patterns found in Sesotho-English CS data. This study further employs Myers-Scotton's (1993 and its updates) Matrix Language Frame model (MLF) and Myers-Scotton and Jake's (2000) 4-M model in analysing different types and strategies found in Sesotho-English CS data, before embarking on the nature of convergence between the two languages, and whether CS is the catalyst for such convergence.

It is for the most part considered conjectural that code-switching promotes convergence (Thomason 2001; Cacoullos and Travis 2010). Notwithstanding, there are some studies that provide empirical evidence that CS acts as a catalyst for convergence (Clyne 1987; Fuller 1996; Ponelis 1999; Backus 2004; Toribio 2004; Cacoullos and Travis 2010). Studies in language contact show that linguistic convergence is a type of contact-induced change that develops as a result of bilingual speakers' frequent mutual borrowing of linguistic features between the languages, making their typology more similar. Aikhenvald (2006:45) postulates that where a large number of speakers of one language have some competence in the other language, certain features of the languages gradually become more like each other. To test whether CS is

responsible for the development of similar features between the languages, the synchronic approach is used to record the process of convergence in code-switched elements.

This study draws on Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Turnover hypothesis (MLT) to demonstrate that the structure of language in convergence violates aspects of the MLF model. In the MLF the matrix language (ML) sets the grammatical frame while the embedded language (EL) provides content morphemes. A change in the selection of the ML is regarded as the MLT. This occurs when the switched elements of the EL include the system morphemes, making it the new ML and thus resulting into a composite ML. The presence of the composite ML is a defining feature of a converging language (Fuller 1996:497). The MLT allows both the matrix language (ML) and the embedded language (EL) to contribute to the composite ML during CS in the process toward a turnover in the ML. Therefore, it is used to detect signs of convergence, or the process thereof, found in Sesotho and English CS utterances. The study further uses the 4-M model to analyse the morphemes contributed by the languages involved in order to identify the language that supplies system morphemes as the ML. In Sesotho-English CS performance, the regular pattern is usually marked by Sesotho as the ML and English the EL. However, the frequent parallel use of both languages by younger bilingual speakers gives rise to an unusual pattern of CS in which the EL also contributes system morphemes. The provision of system morphemes by English thereby claiming the usual position of Sesotho as the ML is referred to as a turnover, which marks the start of the process of convergence.

On the surface, the structure of Sesotho and English present a similar basic word order construction type of subject (S), verb (V) and object (O). However, morphologically their structures are typologically different, with English being an analytic language and Sesotho an agglutinating language. Even though there are structural differences between Sesotho and

English, the study later shows that when frequent switching between languages becomes a norm, speakers find common ground between different morphological patterns that exist in both languages for them to eventually have similar features. Hereunder I look at the individual histories of both languages spoken in Lesotho while exploring their journey of contact.

1.2 Sesotho

Sesotho or Sotho (as is commonly referred to in academia) is a general term for some of the languages in the Sotho-Tswana group as recorded in Guthrie's (1948) Bantu languages classification list revised in Maho (2009). The Sotho-Tswana group identified as S30 comprises three major languages; Setswana (Tswana) S31, Sepedi (Northern Sotho) S32, Sesotho (Southern Sotho) S33 and their various dialects. All three languages are among the eleven official languages in South Africa. Sesotho and Setswana are also indigenous and official languages in their respective countries - Lesotho and Botswana. The languages, although distinct, are to a certain extent mutually intelligible (Demuth 1992:558). Speakers of the three languages can sometimes communicate comprehensibly with each other, each speaking their own language. Below is a Sesotho-Tswana group map showing approximate locations of the languages and dialects classified under Sesotho-Tswana group S30 Maho (2009:7).

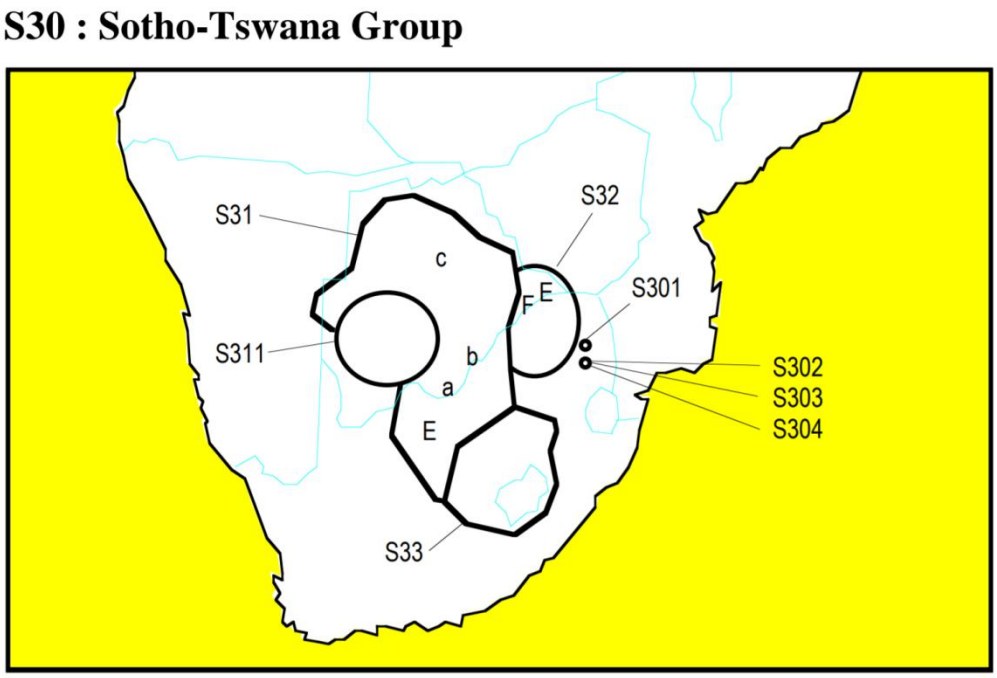


Figure 1. Classification of Sesotho-Tswana group (Source: New Updated Guthrie List; Maho, 2009, p.92)

The term Sesotho is also used interchangeably with 'Southern Sotho', which differentiates it from Sepedi, also referred to as Northern Sotho. Southern Sotho, (hereafter Sesotho) is a language spoken mainly in Lesotho and South Africa in the Free State Province and southern parts of Gauteng (Moeketsi 2014:217). This is indicated on figure 1 as S33 which covers Lesotho and the neighbouring provinces of South Africa. Figure 2 below further illustrates the areas (highlighted in blue) where Sesotho is spoken in Lesotho and South Africa. Taking the two countries together, Lesotho and South Africa, Sesotho has roughly a total of 4.8 million native speakers (Austin 2008:101). The language under study here is Sesotho used in Lesotho. The

Lesotho Bureau of Statistics has recorded 1 954 197[1] speakers of Sesotho in the 2016 census report, 513 576 of which reside in Maseru.

Figure 2. Main areas where Sesotho is spoken in Lesotho and South Africa (Source: (Wikimedia Commons)[2]

Lesotho Sesotho vs. South African Sesotho

Lesotho Sesotho and South African Sesotho are essentially one language spoken in different countries. The only documented difference between the two so far is the orthography. Lesotho Sesotho orthography, for instance, uses diacritics while the South African variant does not; the South African variant has diverged from the original orthography adopted in 1906. Mohasi *et al* (2011:1402) note, "Sesotho is a tonal language with two contrasting tonemes, high (H) and low

[1] The number given in this report also includes Setswana and Sepedi speakers. I was told that is how it was collected.

[2] The original map does not indicate areas where Sesotho is spoken.

(L). The tone of a syllable is carried by the vowel, or by the nasal, if the nasal is syllabic." The Lesotho Sesotho orthography (LSo) unlike the South African Sesotho orthography (SASo) uses diacritic marks to indicate tonal difference. Mohasi *et.al* (2011:1403) posit a list of 14 tonal minimal pairs, investigating them for tonal and vowel differences among other things. They find and conclude that the lack of tone reflection for both high and low tones in Sesotho is problematic. Omission of tone markings unfortunately leads to ambiguity. For example, the following words: *nōka* 'river', *nóka* 'season' (v), *nòka* 'hip joint' are homographs and without the applied tone markings it would be challenging to pronounce them. The LSo therefore requires the use of diacritical marks to avoid ambiguity.

Table 1 below lists some of the orthographic differences found between these Sesotho variants. The differences in the use of diacritical marks are subsequently illustrated in Table 2 and grapheme variations are shown in Table 3 (see below). The examples are further discussed thereafter.

Table 1. Orthographic differences between Lesotho and South African Sesotho

Lesotho Sesotho	South African Sesotho
a) Uses diacritics	a) No diacritics
b) Uses apostrophe to indicate omissions	b) No use of apostrophe
c) Hyphenated words	c) No hyphens
d) Vowels – Uses <e> and <o> or <u>	d) Uses semi-vowels
e) Consonant sounds – *e.g.* [l], [ch], [kh]	e) Uses [d], [tjh], [kg]

Table 2. Diacritical marks

Type	Lesotho Sesotho	South African Sesotho	Gloss
a) Acute (´)	’me (’mé)	mme	and
Grave (`)	’mè	mme	mother
Circumflex (ˆ) Caron (ˇ)	tŝela tšela	tshela	cross
Macron (¯)	lōna	lona	you
Smooth breathing (´)	k´habeche	khabetjhe	cabbage
b) Apostrophe (’)	‘ngoe	nngoe	one
	‘na	nna	I/me
c) Hyphen (-)	bo-ntate	bontate	fathers

Listed in Table 2 are examples of diacritical marks found in LSo in comparison to SASo. Crystal (1991:102) defines a diacritic as, “a mark added to a symbol to alter its value.” Sesotho is one of the many languages that use diacritics to mark tonal difference in words, and especially to distinguish between homographs. At the top of the list in Table 2 are acute and grave accent marks. Accent marks acute (´) and grave (`) are used in LSo to indicate tone markings. Their application to written text aids in identification of stressed vowels in order to distinguish homographs, as in the given examples ’*me* /é/ ‘and’ and ’*mè* /ɛ/ ‘mother’. Sometimes both accent marks are used to differentiate between two syllable homographs like *tsénò* ‘belong to/ of your family’ and *tseno* ‘those ones’. In SASo, however, there are no marks to tell these homographs apart, so there is no difference in their spelling (mme/*mme* and *tseno*/*tseno*). Other diacritical marks found in the LSo include circumflex (ˆ), caron (ˇ) and macron (¯). In Lesotho Sesotho orthography, a circumflex has always been used to indicate aspirated explosives /ts^{h}/ as in *tŝela*

‘cross’. However, a caron seems to have replaced a circumflex as in most texts the mark has changed to [tš] *tšela* ‘cross’ while [tŝ] is found in old texts. In SASo /tsʰ/ is written without a diacritic [tsh] as in *tshela* ‘cross’. A macron is used in LSo to mark differences in vowel length as in /ō/ *rōna* ‘us’ vs. *rona* ‘unsuited’. The South African Sesotho writing system presents both *rōna* ‘us’ and *rona* ‘unsuited’ similarly as *rona*, both without diacritical marks.

Also found in LSo is smooth breathing (ʹ). It is worth noting that smooth breathing has not always been a present diacritical mark in Lesotho Sesotho since the aspirated /k/ sound was non-existent in Sesotho. The sound [kʰ] is found in loan words from English and other languages (Zulu, Afrikaans) that are in contact with Sesotho. *Sekʹhona*, ‘calabash’ found in a book title *Sekʹhona sa joala* ‘*A calabash of beer*’, a 1965 drama by Twentyman Mofokeng, is the only word with the aspirated /k/ sound that has been in existence since the language was first recorded. It is not clear where the word emanates from since the Sesotho word for calabash is ‘*mohope’*. Apart from *sekʹhona* ‘calabash’ all the other Sesotho words with the [kʰ] sound are loan words from other languages. LSo uses smooth breathing (ʹ) to make a distinction between sounds [k͡xʰ]as in *khaba* ‘spoon’ and [kʰ] as in kʹ*habeche* ‘cabbage’ while in SASo there is no distinction between the initial sounds in *khaba*/*khabetjhe*.

Other additional diacritical marks listed in table 2 are apostrophe and hyphen. Apart from being used as a punctuation mark to indicate missing linguistic features, an apostrophe is used as a diacritic to mark a syllabic bilabial nasal followed by the same bilabial nasal as in ’*mè* ‘mother’, alveolar nasal followed by another alveolar nasal as in ’*nete* ‘truth’, palatal nasal [ɲɲ] as in ’*nyarosa* ‘scares me’ and velar nasal [ŋŋ] as in ’*ngoe* ‘one’ nasal sounds. The SASo makes use of a double consonant /mm/ or /nn/ for nasal sound examples given above. Sometimes apostrophe is also placed after /s/ in cases where there is a lack of an appropriate symbol, which is *s* with caron

[š] to represent aspiration. For example, the word *tšoara* 'hold' is alternatively written as *ts'oara* in LSo, whereas in SASo it is written as *tshwara* without a diacritical mark. In LSo, hyphens are mostly used as punctuation marks; however, they are sometimes used as diacritical marks. The example *bo-ntate* 'fathers' in table 2 can be easily misread as *bontate* 'fatherhood' without a hyphen, especially in the absence of the first syllable tonal markings (acute and macron). The use of a hyphen distinguishes between vowels /ɔ/ in *bo-ntate* and /o/ in *bontate* which are both represented by *o* in the Sesotho orthography. The South African Sesotho orthography neither uses hyphens as punctuation marks nor diacritical marks.

Table 3 below presents further differences between the two orthographies.

Table 3. Grapheme variations

Type	Lesotho Sesotho	South African Sesotho	Gloss
d) Vowels			
2nd person singular pronoun (S and O)	u uena	o wena	you you
3rd person singular pronoun	eena eona	yena yona	him/her it
Noun	monoang	monwang	mosquito
Verb	koenya	kwenya	swallow
e) Consonants			
[l] / [d]	lieta lumela	dieta dumela	shoes agree/greeting
[ch] / [tjh]	chesa	tjhesa	hot/burn
[kh] / [kg]	khomo	kgomo	cow

The graphemic difference between LSo and SASo is divided into vowels and consonants in table 3. Examples of vowels given here include the use of /u/ to indicate 2nd person singular pronoun

and /o/ 3rd person singular pronoun in LSo, while SASo uses only /o/ for both 2nd and 3rd person singular pronoun. Also presented in table 3 is the use of digraphs in LSo compared to SASo use of semi-vowels. Other graphemic differences between the two orthographies are noted in consonants as in examples given in table 3. LSo uses the symbol 'l' to represent the sound /d/ when [l] precedes [i] and [u]. However, when followed by [a], [e] and [o], /l/ retains its sound. Matlosa (2017:54) argues that this inconsistency in the Sesotho orthography leads to mispronunciation and imprecise reading of Sesotho words, and suggests that the use of International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) will be a solution to Sesotho orthographic problems. Although IPA is wonderful for linguistics, it is doubtful that this suggestion will work given the realities of multilingualism and that speech does not really follow writing. Matlosa (2017:52) also encourages harmonization of the Lesotho and South African orthographies, which she notes Lesotho has always resisted to preserve Sesotho's original 1906 orthography. This resistance to change or orthography reform is what Sebba (2009: 39-40) refers to as the treatment of writing systems as "markers of difference and belonging", where diacritics and other characters in the orthography are iconified to create an identity for such groups of language speakers.

In the case of LSo, some speakers are against orthography reform, while some are for it. Despite valid arguments against reform, there is a gradual drop in the use of diacritics and other characters that differentiate LSo from SASo, as younger and educated Basotho are leaning towards a diacritic free South African Sesotho orthography. Nonetheless, shifting to a simpler orthography does not solve Sesotho's ambiguity problems due to increased homographs and tone issues. Perhaps retaining some of tonal markings, if possible, could be the solution. The current study was carried out in Lesotho and for this reason the orthography used is LSo, except in examples quoted from other works. On one hand, with the correct use of relevant diacritical

marks, LSo is much easier to read with fewer ambiguities. SASo on the other hand is easier to write yet challenging to read since there are no marks used to distinguish between similar words, resulting in mispronunciations. Nevertheless, the shift towards SASo is an indication that LSo will soon be a marked choice even for Basotho in Lesotho where it is the standard form of writing, making it a change worth documenting.

Having given the difference between Lesotho Sesotho and South African Sesotho, I now turn to the variety of English discussed in this study. The local variety of English found in Lesotho has been in contact with Sesotho for centuries yet it is understudied. In the following section I give a brief introduction of this variety of English, note other researchers' findings on it and quote some of its recorded features.

1.3 Lesotho English[3]

It is crucially important to give a brief description of the local variety of English in Lesotho. In their discussion of English Language Complex (ELC) subtypes, Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:3-5) consider English of the countries like Lesotho that were colonised, yet under British protectorate, intermediate between ESL and EFL (2008:16). English was introduced in Lesotho in the colonial era, through the education system. I discuss this further in **1.4** under language contact between Sesotho and English. According to Phillipson (1992:6) quoted in Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:24), the teaching of English and its power, especially in countries that accorded it the official status, played a prominent role in the successful continuation of its spread even post-colonisation. From this linguistic indoctrination developed a local variety of English that I refer to here as Lesotho English (LsE).

[3] Lesotho English is not a documented World English (WE), the expression is purely used here to refer the variety of English found in Lesotho.

Thus far, there is not much documented on LsE. However, a local variety whose features deviate from those of the Standard English variety taught in the classroom; and are identical to those of new Englishes recorded in Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) does exist and is in contact with Sesotho. LsE is a variety born out of second language acquisition (SLA) and Sesotho- English contact. Its features are phonologically and structurally Sesotho influenced as indicated in examples discussed later in this section. To my knowledge, Kamwangamalu and Moyo's (2003) research on 'Some characteristic features of Englishes in Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland' is so far the only published work conducted on LsE. Nevertheless, it is not very clear which characteristic features were found in the data collected in Lesotho, as they generalise their discussion of Englishes found in the three countries. Kamwangamalu and Moyo (2003:41) claim that their work validates the assumption that Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland Englishes overlap with Black South African English (BSAE). Given the proximity of the countries to, and a certain dependence on South Africa, it is expected that there will be some similarities in the local English varieties. However, such validity is open to criticism as these varieties are found in different countries with different cultures, different language histories and other factors that influence them. To come to a conclusion of this magnitude, there has to have been thorough research that focuses individually on the varieties in question. Hence, the extent to which LsE has its own distinguishable features or shares features with other neighbouring World Englishes is a topic yet to be explored.

Some features of LsE

There are only a few studies known to the researcher, as noted above, from which features of LsE can be quoted. There are researchers who write on LsE as a new English (Kamwangamalu and Moyo 2003; Semethe 2013) and those dealing with LsE features as L2 "errors" influenced

by L1 (Fandrych 2003), all of whose research will be drawn on for LsE features. The lack of research on WE in Lesotho could be influenced by the conventional practice of the mastery of the standard British English that was encouraged by SLA theorists, the colonial structure and education system. Even with the increasing number of studies in WE, Lesotho educators (English teachers, examiners, moderators and researchers) still find features deviant from the British English variety as errors that should be purged of the local variety, inclusive of stable or frequently used features common among most second-language speakers regardless of their level of competence in English. In a survey on proficiency in English in Lesotho, Khati and Khati (2009:163) write, "Some of the learners' language weaknesses may be a carry over from their teachers who themselves performed poorly at teacher training institutions thereby creating a vicious circle." Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:198) also confirm the likelihood that some features of New Englishes are being spread by teachers.

Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) bridge the gap between SLA and New Englishes[4]. While SLA often deals with individuals, studies on New Englishes focus on the areal coverage of second language varieties of English, hence have been found a significant addition to Variationist Theory (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008:92). Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:96) show in their discussion that Indian English is divided into two varieties – standard and colloquial/spoken Indian English. Quoting (Kachru 1983a:77), they further state that standard Indian English is spoken by educated speakers and that its syntax matches that of the Standard British English, whereas the colloquial variety is indigenous and deviates from the British English norms. Similarly, LsE is divided into the standard and colloquial varieties. Features listed below do not conform to the grammatical

[4] This is another term for World Englishes. (See Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008:3 for further explanation of both expressions)

rules governing the Standard British English, and those of standard LsE, and are therefore considered examples of spoken or colloquial LsE.

(1) Consonant substitution

[ð] ⟶ [d] e.g. <u>th</u>is ⟶ [**d**is]

(Kamwangamalu and Moyo 2003:42)

[ʒ] ⟶ [ʃ] e.g. mea<u>s</u>ure ⟶ [mea**ʃ**ure]

[ʃ] ⟶ [tʃ] e.g. ma<u>ch</u>ine ⟶ [ma**tʃ**ine]

[ɵ] ⟶ [f] e.g. <u>th</u>ink ⟶ [**f**ink]

[s] ⟶ [z] e.g. De<u>c</u>ember ⟶ [De**z**ember]

(Semethe 2013:17)

Kamwangamalu and Moyo (2003: 42) present three examples of consonant substitution in Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland Englishes, which they refer to as LMS. Of the three examples in (1) only [ð] to [d] noted above is recognized as a feature of LsE. They also note that the foreign sounds are substituted with the equivalent sounds in the indigenous languages' phonological systems. This is true for the example they give where [ð] is substituted by [d] in *<u>th</u>is* and for the examples cited in Semethe (2013:17) where [ʒ] is substituted by the equivalent [ʃ] in *mea<u>s</u>ure* and [θ] by [f] *<u>th</u>ink*. However, as will be indicated shortly, this is not the only reason why certain sounds are substituted for the other ones.

The other examples are from Semethe's (2013) research on "Features of standard and non-standard varieties of English in Lesotho". The study focused on the features of the variety that deviates from the Standard English variety used in Lesotho. Kachru (1983b:2) quoted in (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008:46) states that a 'deviation' is characteristic of a mistake according to Standard English, but characterized as a feature of New English provided it is regularly used by a majority of speakers, including the educated ones. Although the study was conducted in

secondary schools, the features found apply to other second-language speakers of varied education and competence levels as well.

In the next example where [ʃ] is substituted by [tʃ], both sounds exist in both Sesotho and English phonological systems. The substitution here is influenced by the spelling form <ch> in *ma<u>ch</u>ine*; which is associated with [tʃ] on analogy of such English spellings as *child*. In words like *<u>ch</u>ild*, the phoneme /ch/ [tʃ] and grapheme -ch- look similar, whereas in *ma<u>ch</u>ine* the grapheme -ch- looks different from phoneme /sh/ [ʃ], although it is one of the written patterns representing it.

The last example in (1) where [s] is substituted for [z] is a case of hypercorrection, defined in Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:228) as "the overgeneralization of linguistic forms which carry social prestige." Hypercorrection can either be quantitative or qualitative; in this situation it is qualitative since the linguistic rules regarded as prestigious are misapplied. In an attempt not to sound Sesotho while speaking English, speakers substitute [s] in De<u>c</u>ember for [z] because [z] does not exist in the phonological system of Sesotho, as a result sounds more English than its equivalent [s] which is an existing Sesotho sound.

(2) Redundancy

(a) all the **remaining** others
(b) can **be able to**
(c) convincingly argue and **convince** us

(Fandrych 2003:21)

(d) We can return **back** home.
(e) I saw one of my schoolmates that I was **attending school with**.
(f) We always speak English **all the time**.
(g) To whom does it belong **to**?

(Semethe 2013:27)

Another common feature of LsE is redundancy. Fandrych (2003:21) comments on redundancy found in National University of Lesotho (NUL) first year students' essays. She argues that redundancy is one of the problems that can be related to "students' oral background, a lack of exposure to reading materials and some instances of first language interference". (2a, b and c) above are examples influenced by students' oral background. A roundabout way of speaking is very characteristic of Sesotho speakers, and results in redundancy. Similarly, examples (2d, e and f) quoted from secondary students' essays are influenced by the way they speak Sesotho. Example (2g) is repetition of the preposition **to** in a process known as pied piping where "the preposition optionally moves to the front of the clause" (Crystal 1991:265). The preposition can also be placed at the end of the sentence as in 'Who does it belong to?'

(3) Pluralisation of uncountable nouns
Bad **news were** in store for me.

(Semethe 2013:25)

'News' in example (3) is an uncountable noun just as its Sesotho equivalent *litaba* is. The inflectional ending *–s* in 'news' behaves like a plural marker and so is the prefix *li-* in *litaba*, and both lexical items could easily be mistaken for countable plural nouns. This feature could also be influenced by a Sesotho lexical item *taba* 'issue', which does not have a plural form although it looks like and is often mistaken for a singular form of *litaba* 'news' since it falls under noun class 9, a class of singular nouns most of whose plural forms are in noun class 10. The order of the Sesotho noun class system is organised in a way that, even noun classes are plural forms of their preceding odd noun classes, in noun classes 1 to 10 of the 12 existing noun classes. The last two noun classes 14 and 15 do not follow the same pattern.

(4) L1 lexical transfer

(a) *E-ea ntate*, give us the answer.

(b) You have learned big words like *bo*-bachelor.

(Semethe 2013:26)

The most common nouns imported into English utterances are kinship or addressee terms (Moloi 2008:89). Example (4a) was uttered by a teacher addressing one of the male students in his class. The feature *e-ea* 'yes' *ntate* 'sir' in (4a) is an example of situational CS, as the teacher switches to the local language in the middle of a formal English class. Although *ntate* 'father' is a kinship term, in this example it is used as an informal form of address by a young male teacher to a male student. The use of *e* or *e-ea* (both meaning 'yes') is also very common among Basotho teachers. It is either used before the address term as in this example or before a student's name when they are chosen to answer the question.

The Sesotho form *bo-* in (4b) is a prefix of noun class 2a. Class 2a is a class of plural nouns to singular nouns in class 1a (kinship terms, people's names). The English noun attached to *bo-* is neither a kinship term nor a person's name, which means the morpheme *bo-* in this example is not used as a plural prefix. Moloi and Thetso's (2014) investigation of the use of *bo-* beyond its traditional function revealed that the morpheme is currently attached to all nouns in different classes taking the role of a pre-prefix to other parts of speech. Moloi and Thetso's (2014:68) findings also show that although the morpheme under study shares phonological features with class 2a *bo-*, and the morphological feature of being affixed to nouns, it differs from it in that it attaches to all singular and plural nouns, other words other than nouns and does not add any syntactic meaning in a sentence. They also add that "...it recurs with a relatively stable meaning in all environments," as a quantifier or meaning "among others" and "approximately". In this case, morpheme *bo-* in (4b) means among others. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:150) state, "Code-

switching in New Englishes also indexes several discourse functions." They further add that sometimes local languages are used in English discourse to perform various functions, as in examples in (4a) and (4b) above where in (4a) a Sesotho expression is used in English discourse to encourage teacher-student interaction, and in (4b) the morpheme is used to ease students into the learning of "big words like bachelor" in their case.

Features like those presented above are an indication that the local variety of English in Lesotho is established and that there is a need for further research on LsE as a new English variety. Some of the features found are present in BSAE, however, broad and well-documented as it is; strains within BSAE have not attracted as much attention. Therefore it is not clear whether the features are Sesotho-based or are also based on other black South African languages. Next I briefly present the trajectory of contact between Sesotho and English.

1.4 Language contact between Sesotho and English

The first European language to come into contact with Sesotho was Dutch, around 1820 through the Dutch missionaries. A decade later, following the Dutch missionaries, the British settlers also occupied parts of the Basotho territory, which led to conflict and gun wars. Moshoeshoe 1, the leader of the Basotho sought protection from the British. Years later Lesotho was proclaimed a British territory and then a colony. Contact between Sesotho and English therefore dates as far back as the eighteenth century. The British did not settle in large numbers in Lesotho, as they did in other colonies; however they set up camps in Maseru (1869) and later in other parts of the country to accommodate their administrative officials. This early contact between Sesotho and the European languages (Dutch and English) resulted in borrowing of lexical items recorded in (Doke and Mofokeng 1957; *Sebopeho Puo sa Sesotho 'The Structure of Sesotho Language'* 1981) with Sesotho borrowing heavily from both languages. Myers-Scotton (2002:41) notes that

borrowing is mostly one way, with speakers of a less prestigious language borrowing from a more prestigious one. As stated in the *Sebopeho – puo sa Sesotho* (1981:23), Sesotho has a wide vocabulary of nouns borrowed from foreign languages, especially languages with which it has had the longest contact (*translated from Sesotho*).

Further contact between Sesotho and English was promoted through formal education during the colonial period. Formal education, which was introduced subsequent to the British protection of Lesotho against the Boers in 1868 (Fandrych 2003:15), paved the way for further Sesotho-English coexistence and contact in Lesotho. Not only is English learned as a subject in schools, it is also the medium of instruction and has a powerful dominance over Sesotho in government, commerce and judiciary (customary law excluded). It is also an official language, along with Sesotho. It has taken the pivotal role in education development which includes taking priority over other subjects in the admission process in institutions of higher learning. Although access to formal education added English to Lesotho's linguistic repertoire, English was only used in schools, government offices and in other formal settings when it was first introduced. Lesotho was therefore classified as diglossic and bilingual as it fitted Fishman's (1967 quoted in Matlosa 2009:2) definition of extended diglossia, whereby two genetically unrelated languages are valued high (H) and low (L) depending on the formality of the domains within which they are frequently used; H representing formal talk/conversations and L ordinary day to day conversations.

This is still true in some parts of the country; however, the same theory can no longer fully apply to some urban areas in Lesotho lately, especially Maseru (the capital town). Bilingual younger speakers in urban areas use both languages in ordinary day to day conversations. There is also a lot of code-switching observed among this group (Fandrych 2003). These young and educated speakers do not only code-switch but use English in informal situations, which breaks the

diglossic norm and further increases contact between Sesotho and English. The increased level of contact and its outcomes (discussed in chapter 4) affirm Fishman's (1967:79) observation that, "Languages and varieties formerly kept apart come to influence each other phonetically, lexically, semantically and even grammatically much more than before." Sesotho-English bilingual speakers may be aware of certain changes brought about by language contact in their everyday speech, but most are oblivious to the ongoing structural changes influenced by language contact, affecting each of the two languages they speak.

1.5 Aims of the study

This study aims to use CS data collected in the interviews and radio phone-ins to examine the types and strategies of CS found in Sesotho-English data, and whether performance of such promotes convergence between Sesotho and English. Next it looks for similar structural features between the languages; how they developed and which direction they develop towards. The final task of the study is to analyse other changes found in the Sesotho structure and determine what causes them. It is common for older people in the community to blame the use of English for all Sesotho grammatical changes; hence this study also aims to clear this misconception.

The current study therefore intends, through its findings, not only to make speakers aware of the changes the languages currently go through but most significantly identify signs of convergence between Sesotho and English; record the early stages of convergence and other internally motivated Sesotho structural changes for future reference by the community and researchers alike.

1.6 Research Question(s)

1. Does code-switching performance among Sesotho-English bilinguals promote convergence between Sesotho and English?
2. Have Sesotho and Lesotho English developed common structural/grammatical features between each other?
3. Are the changes unidirectional or bidirectional?
4. Is language contact the sole contributor to Sesotho structural change?

1.7 Contents of the dissertation

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the topic, gives a brief historical background of the two languages under study and outlines the aims of the study. The history of contact between Sesotho and English lays a foundation for chapter 2, which provides a review of literature related to the current topic of research. Chapter 2 addresses the research question by exploring recent preferred theories around the subject and some studies on Sesotho and English CS. Chapter 3 documents where the study was carried out, who the participants were and what sociolinguistic methods were followed to conduct the interviews and analyse them. Chapter 4 applies the most successful theories identified in Chapter 2 in the analysis of collected data. It also presents and discusses findings. Chapter 5 concludes the study by indicating whether and how the study answered the problem stated in the first chapter.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has provided in detail the history of contact between Sesotho and English, which leads to the topic of the current study. It has laid the foundation for the thesis affirming the need to carry out the present study. It has also given a summary of what is to be expected in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews literature on code-switching and convergence. It highlights previous studies dealing with both processes, pointing out differences and similarities as well as gaps in research on code-switching and convergence. Most significantly, in this chapter the study examines correlation between the two contact phenomena and how they are explicated by some of the leading theoretical approaches in contact studies.

2.1 Code-switching

Appel & Muysken (1987:117) note that there has been ample research carried out on code-switching in different fields of contact studies; from sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and linguistic point of view. Owing to over four decades of research on code-switching there is therefore a vast literature on the topic. In this section the researcher gives a brief history of code-switching; highlighting some of the facts crucial to contact studies today. The study also draws from other sources in the literature on code-switching (Poplack 1980, 1988, 1993; Sankoff and Poplack 1981; Myers-Scotton 1993, 2005; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000), while building towards reviewing exemplary studies on Sesotho-English code-switching. Code-switching can be bilingual or multilingual depending on the number of languages switched within a conversation. Although this research focuses on bilingual code-switching, there will be some references to multilingual studies which Sesotho is a part of, due to scarcity of research on Sesotho-English code-switching, especially regarding the linguistic structure. Before reviewing studies on Sesotho-English code-switching, I take a look at the history of code-switching as a contact phenomenon.

2.1.1 Misapprehension of code-switching

Code-switching, an alternation of elements from two (or more) languages, within and between sentences in conversation, is said to have been slow in starting compared to other contact phenomena in bilingualism in general (Milroy and Muysken 1995:8). The reason for this is that, code-switching (hereafter CS) received a lot of criticism from early academic linguists trained to view "as the unmarked case of the monolingual speaker in a homogeneous speech community" (Milroy and Muysken1995:2-3). Sebba (1997:10) notes that this misunderstanding of CS was due to the analytical difficulties it presented. Recent studies show that even after four decades of CS research, the misapprehension has not cleared up for some people, especially the general public. Quoting his earlier work, Khati (2008:1) notes that CS performance has also been labelled in some instances an "unsophisticated and inelegant way of communication" (2006:9). Khati's (2006) findings confirm the misconception that people still hold regarding CS. Bullock and Toribio (2009:1) also attest to the general public having perceived CS as an indicative of language degeneration. Although these observations indicate that there are still pejorative attitudes towards CS, since gaining prominence in the 1970s (Poplack 1979; Pfaff 1979), there is a general acceptance of the concept especially in Sociolinguistics and it is gradually claiming its rightful place in contact studies. In summarising her chapter on Code-Switching, Myers-Scotton (1997) expresses her gratitude to early researchers of CS and writes,

> Thanks to a plethora of publications and conference presentations on code-switching since the late 1970s, an overview of CS in the middle 1990s can offer a rich characterisation of CS itself, as well as comparing it more precisely with other language contact phenomena involving two or more languages.

As CS studies became more and more robust, findings revealed among other things that CS is a strategy used by bilinguals of different levels of competence to overcome difficulties in sentence planning (Myers-Scotton 1997:2). It was also later established as a sign of multi-competence (Cook 1999:185). CS has also been found to serve several functions (listed in Appel and Muysken 1987:118-120) in speech. It has been viewed as an index of bilingual proficiency (Khati 2008; Bullock and Toribio 2009), that is, it is easier to tell how competent one is in the languages they speak judging by their level of CS. Bullock and Toribio (2009:1) open their paper on 'Themes in the study of code-switching' with the assertion, "Broadly defined, CS is the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages." Since having been accepted, a phenomenon that was once deemed random and deviant and was not taken seriously by researchers (Poplack 2001:2062) has gathered momentum and is slowly making its way into formal spaces that would have not been thought possible.

2.1.2 Code-switching in the formal mainstream

Ferguson (2003:1) notes that in most post-colonial societies in Africa, where the official medium of instruction continues to be the former colonial language, teachers use CS as a pragmatic strategy for managing cases of learners with limited proficiency in the official language medium. Ferguson (2003:3) tabulates a summary overview of studies of classroom CS where findings reveal quite a number of positive functions of CS. Studies quoted in Ferguson found that among other things, the use of CS in the classroom;

- gains students' attention and encourages interaction
- explicates foreign textbook lexical items
- reduces social distance
- helps with classroom management

Effective as research has found it to be, classroom CS has not received full recognition from some linguists and educationalists / educational authorities. Ferguson (2003:8) talks about attitudes to classroom CS which he believes partly stem from the early pejorative behaviour towards CS, and partly from the ideology of language standardisation which is reinforced by formal education and media. Ferguson (2003:10) further indicates that the other reason for avoiding classroom CS could be its interference in second language acquisition (SLA), which favours and thrives in an environment where learners are exposed consistently to one language at a time. Ferguson (2003:13) concludes his paper by drawing attention to the fact that there is no evidence that classroom CS is a threat to teaching and learning, but proof that it is a useful communicative resource. Even with this problem cleared up, CS, like most terms in Linguistics, seems to present multidimensionality issues. Canagarajah (2011) and others have been influential in bringing the fluidities of CS and its educational potential to the audience of educators. The term "translanguaging" is gaining popularity within this school of applied linguists who stress that CS seems to be usurping the roles of monolingual usage. In this study I will retain the more conventional term CS.

2.1.3 Issues in defining code-switching

Borrowing vs. code-switching

There seems to be a general consensus on the fact that CS is a juxtaposition or alternation of linguistic elements between two (or more) languages (Poplack and Meechan 1995; Auer 1999; Khati 2008) or as Heller (1988:1) defines it, "Code-switching is the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode." However, it should be noted that problems arise when these broad definition of CS is broken down according to the length of the linguistic elements switched. There are varied opinions in terms of the length of elements

switched, where the alternation of single words is referred to as simply borrowing (Poplack 1993:256, Poplack and Meechan 1995:200) and disregarded as CS. Poplack and Meechan (1995:200) reinforce their opinion on borrowing and CS by quoting Muysken (1987) and other researchers who argue that CS and borrowing should be distinguished. Also sharing the same view is Sankoff (2001:651), who claims that Poplack and her colleagues came up with a quantitative methodology that made a significant breakthrough in distinguishing between single-word tokens as switches or borrowings. However, this approach does not seem to have gained popularity since most scholars still hold different opinions regarding the subject.

Other scholars contend that the two are indistinguishable in certain contexts and consider single words as CS forms too (Haugen and Markey 1973; Myers-Scotton 1997; Slabbert and Finlayson 2002). Myers-Scotton and Ury's (1977:1) stance on including single words as part of CS is very clear as they state, "We define code-switching as the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction. The switch may be for only one word or for several minutes of speech." Myers-Scotton (1997:22) maintains her position regarding single-word switches and borrowing as she indicates that regardless of efforts Poplack has made to distinguish CS and borrowing, her definition of CS does not rule out single-lexeme CS forms, which clearly shows that separating the two has been unsuccessful thus far. In his paper on 'Neutrality in code-mixing', Muysken (1987:359) asserts that code-mixing (hereafter CM) differs from lexical borrowing in that it involves two grammars while the latter involves one grammar, which supports the opinion that code-mixing and borrowing are separable.

Muysken (1987:360) also indicated that CM unlike lexical borrowing was then a new process and there was not much known about it. However, in his work co-authored with Appel, he shares a different view. Appel and Muysken (1987:172) confirm that they find the classic view that

code-mixing and borrowing can easily be kept apart problematic. They further point out in their discussion on lexical borrowing (1987:173) that, "It is not possible to distinguish individual cases of code-mixing from not-yet-integrated borrowings on the basis of simple diagnostic criteria." For instance, Sesotho speakers (both monolinguals and bilinguals of different levels of competence) use the lexical item 'radio' more than its Sesotho equivalent *seea-le-moea*, such that it has almost replaced it. The loan word, however, is not yet fully integrated (wide-spread usage) into the lexicon of Sesotho.

Based on Muysken's (1987:360) four stages of integration into the lexicon of the host language presented in a diagram below, it is hard to find the appropriate stage 'radio' is at even after decades of use by Sesotho speakers. 'Radio' has also not fully adapted to the phonological system of Sesotho because of the phonological variation it has with highly bilingual speakers keeping its original phonological features and bilingual speakers of other levels and monolingual speakers assimilating and localising its pronunciation features.

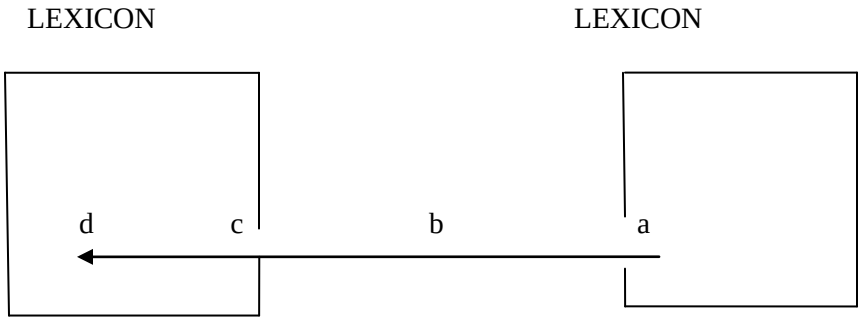


Figure 3. Schematic diagram of various stages of integration into the lexicon (from Muysken 1987:361)

The various stages of integration in the diagram above are represented as:

(a) completely unintegrated into the language
(b) partly integrated phonologically, but recognizably foreign e.g *radio*
(c) integrated but has "non-native" morphology e.g. *re**d**io*
(d) integrated with native morphology e.g. *re**t**io*

("*redio* / *retio*" variation from Rapeane 1996:23)

Figure 3 is a presentation of different stages of integration in the new lexicon that borrowed lexical items go through. Here (a) represents the beginning stage and its completely unintegrated elements are referred to as nonce borrowing (Muysken 1987:361). Nonce borrowing, also called momentary borrowing is performed by individuals and as Poplack (1988:72) suggests, it should be kept distinct from lexical borrowing on the community level. Stage (b) is the second stage of integration where lexical items are still recognizable as foreign words, but some of their consonant and vowel sounds are articulated differently. Stage (c) which is the third stage covers changes in stage (a) and stage (b) but words still display some features of their original morphology. Stage (d), the final stage represents full integration where lexical items can no longer be traced back to the source language. The challenge with the stages is that for most second language speakers stage (a) may not exist phonologically. In the case of the given example, although the lexical item *radio* is a frequent term among Sesotho speakers, it has no standard form, hence could pass as either CM or borrowing depending on different groups of speakers within a community.

While the debate continues among scholars of sociolinguistics in the pursuit of a clear distinction between single-lexeme CS/CM forms and lexical borrowings, there is a choice on whether individual researchers decide to treat single words as CS/CM forms or borrowings. Appel and Muysken (1987:173) as a result, call for further work on the implications of the difference to

produce new functional criterion. Until then, whether or not single lexemes are considered CS forms or borrowing remains a moot point.

Code-switching definitions

Most scholars opt for a broad definition of CS like that given above; however, since it poses problems, others choose to break it down into simpler unambiguous terms. Sometimes the attempt to avoid ambiguity causes more confusion in the topic. Although she acknowledges the broader definition of CS and has used it in her other works, Myers-Scotton (1993:3) deviates from the usual wording used to define CS: "a selection of forms from an embedded variety in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation by bilinguals." This definition clearly covers all forms of CS including single words, indicating her unwavering assertions with regard to treating single lexemes as CS forms. It is based on the Matrix Language Frame model, which is further discussed under CS constraints section (2.1.5). Myers-Scotton (1993) is not the only one who gives a rather less detailed definition of CS to avoid ambiguities. McCormick (2004:217) breaks down a highly debatable broad definition of CS into formal and functional terms. The former, which is of interest to the current study since it covers the structural part narrows the definition of CS down to "...alternation of elements longer than one word from two languages or dialects." The definition covers two types of CS (intra-sentential and inter-sentential). It also clearly excludes single lexemes, which she classifies under CM. McCormick (2004: 217) defines CM as alternation of shorter elements, which could be single words or intra-phrasal mixing of lexical items from involved languages. There seems to be no clear demarcation line between CS and CM definitions, since "elements longer than one word" (in CS definition) could refer to a phrase, a clause, a sentence, or more than one sentence in sequence, but some phrases also qualify as examples of "shorter elements" (in CM definition). These definitions also

blur the distinctions between CM and intra-sentential CS, which are sometimes used interchangeably (Muysken 1997; Poplack 2001; Appel and Muysken 1987:118), or in contrast to each other with CM used for intra-sentential shifts while CS is reserved for inter-sentential switches (Myers-Scotton 2005: 132). McCormick neither refers to single words as borrowing nor CS forms, however, categorising them as CM forms (and not CS forms) as per her view of CS and CM as different entities, gives the definition an element of ambiguity.

Code-switching or code-mixing

The difference between CS and CM, or the similarity thereof, poses problems in defining CS. The problem is that CS is a general cover term; but it is also used to denote a specific type different from CM. While some scholars find it confusing to use different terminology to refer to the same process, some maintain that it does not cause any complications. Myers-Scotton (2005:132) describes the use of CM alongside CS as unfortunate. She disapproves of the term "mix" and considers it "unprincipled chaos". Contrasting with Myers-Scotton is Poplack (1988:72) who in concluding her discussion on code-switching notes,

> …I have been using the term "code·switching" here to refer to the alternate use of two codes in a fully grammatical way in the same discourse and even in the same sentence. Others use "code-mixing", "codeshifting" or other terms for the same purpose and this poses no problem.

Although Poplack (1988) chooses to use CS, she points out that she finds no problem in other scholars using different terminology to refer to the same process. However, the problem as Myers-Scotton (2005:132) indicates is that some writers use CS and CM interchangeably (Muysken 1997; Poplack 2001), some use CS for inter-sentential codes and CM to refer to intra-sentential codes (McCormick 2004), and the overlap then results in further confusion. The

perception arises, therefore that there is no real difference between CS and CM. In order to avoid the complexity in CS definition, the phenomenon is divided into three types discussed below.

2.1.4 Types of Code-switching

Code-switching is divided into three types; 'tag switching' otherwise referred to as 'emblematic switching' or 'extra-sentential switching' (Milroy and Muysken 1995:8) is identified as single words or short expressions from one language that are attached onto the elements of another. This type is not as widely studied as the next two, possibly because it is less frequent in balanced bilingualism. This is substantiated by Myers-Scotton and Jake's (2005:265) statement that structurally inter-sentential and intra-sentential are regarded as the only types of CS.

Intra-sentential CS occurs within a sentence, and inter-sentential CS occurs between sentences from different languages with their grammars put together but operating separately (Appel & Muysken 2005:118; Khati 2008:5). Intra-sentential switching is considered the complex one of the two. It occurs within a sentence demonstrating a close connection of rules from two monolingual grammars in contact operating at the same time. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000:266) present what they call "a precise definition of intra-sentential CS" as a mixed constituent[5] from two or more languages included within the complement phrase (CP). Their choice of CP instead of clause or sentence is due to their belief that CP is the appropriate unit, hence they also put forward that intra-CP switching would be a suitable term to replace intra-sentential switching. CP is also preferred because defining it is regarded less likely to spark a debate (Finlayson *et al* 1998:405) among CS scholars. It is within the same type that finding the switch point or trying to unravel why switching occurs at particular points (Appel & Muysken

[5] In the hierarchical structure of a sentence, each of the smaller units found at the end of a line and is a part of a higher grammatical unit is referred to as a constituent (Collins and Hollo 2000:9-10).

2005:121) has proven to be yet another problem for researchers of CS, which gave rise to CS constraints theories.

2.1.5 Code-switching constraints

In an attempt to understand the structure of CS and deal with the problems it poses, different scholars (Sankoff and Poplack 1981; Sridhar and Sridhar 1980; Myers-Scotton 1993 to name a few), came up with models for better analysis of the structure of CS. The discussion in this section focuses on Sankoff and Poplack's theory of the grammar of CS, which is governed by two general linguistic constraints on CS, and Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model. Both models have been used to analyse Sesotho-English CS data, most of which happened to be in favour of the latter. Hereafter follows a brief description of the two models and how they have been tested on Sesotho-English CS.

Sankoff and Poplack's Free Morpheme and Equivalence Constraints

Based initially and mostly on studies carried out in the Puerto Rican communities in the United States, Sankoff and Poplack's (1981:5) research and findings brought them to a conclusion that switching between languages can only be determined by two constraints. One is "the Free Morpheme Constraint (FMC)", which states, "A switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme." Sankoff and Poplack (1981:5) cite the English lexical form *run* and Spanish bound morpheme *-iendo* (equivalent to English *–ing*) which form **run-iendo* to support the above statement by claiming that such switches cannot occur. This general linguistic constraint reached at by focusing largely on Spanish-English CS did not turn out to be as universal as was expected. It drew attention and criticism from researchers of other language

pairs from around the world, including but not limited to, Cantonese-English (Hok-shing 1993); Sesotho-English (Makoe 2004; Khati 2008), Urban Wolof[6] (Legendre and Schindler 2010).

Khati (2008) criticises the FMC using Sesotho-English examples to indicate that unlike what Poplack's FMC states, CS does occur between lexical items and bound morphemes. Khati (2008:2) gives an example of Sesotho reciprocal *–ana* and perfective ***-ile*** suffixes that can be attached to the English verb stem 'affect' resulting in *affect**ana*** and *affect**ile***, where the bound morphemes indicate reciprocal action and perfect aspect (Khati 2008:2). This type of a switch does occur and is allowed, hence a violation of the FMC. Likewise, examples from Makoe's (2004) data (discussed in Sesotho-English CS review section below) also contravene FMC. This then clearly means that the constraints are not universal as they do not apply to all language pairs.

Sankoff and Poplack's (1981:4-5) second general linguistic constraint is "the Equivalence Constraint (EC)" in which they state,

> The order of sentence constituents immediately adjacent to and on both sides of the switch point must be grammatical with respect to both languages involved simultaneously. This requires some specification: the local co-grammaticality or equivalence of the two languages in the vicinity of the switch holds as long as the order of any two sentence elements, one before and one after the switch point, is not excluded in either language.

This means that the EC prohibits CS between languages which have different syntactic structures or whose elements do not map onto each other around the switch point. Further maintaining her stance on the matter, Poplack (2001:2063) asserts, "The boundary between adjacent fragments

[6] Legendre and Schindler (2010:48) describe Urban Wolof as, "A mixture of Wolof, a West-Atlantic Niger-Congo language, and French that is spoken in the cities of Senegal."

occurs between two constituents that are ordered in the same way in both languages, ensuring the linear coherence of sentence structure without omitting or duplicating lexical content." Hence the EC is also referred to as a linearity constraint, as it only permits switching between languages if the linear order of sentences is maintained in both languages (Muysken 1987:363). In comparison to other structural constraints on CS, the EC is further claimed to present the facts of CS and constitute a number of empirical observations (Poplack 2001:2064).

Despite the claims and fervent belief in the model, some language pairs, especially non-agglutinating languages paired with agglutinating African languages, like Sesotho-English (Makoe 2004; Khati 2008) appear to violate the EC, and hence researchers are critical of some parts of it. Makoe (2004:209) points out that, much as Sesotho and English share the same word order (subject-verb-object (SVO)), they do not belong to the same language families and are typologically distinct. To a certain extent both languages do show some equivalence on the surface. However, Makoe (2004) further notes that the same languages are not equivalent at phrasal level since they have different rules that govern phrases; hence due to lack of linearity in Sesotho-English CS at phrasal level, the EC rule regarding linear sequence of elements in CS is contravened. Taken to extremes, the EC would prohibit CS between some morphologically different languages, which is directly contradicted in the data. This matter is further discussed and exemplified under Sesotho-English CS review in the next section.

Myers-Scotton's the Matrix Language Frame model and its updates

The Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, first discussed in Myers-Scotton (1993) is a model designed to analyze the grammatical structure of CS. Myers-Scotton (2005:15) asserts that the MLF model is an in-depth model that predicts the structures that are allowed to occur within a code-switched clause. The essence of the MLF model that sets it apart from other structuralist

approaches on CS is that it perceives one of the languages as building the grammatical frame of the bilingual clause but not the other language. This results in an imbalance in the roles played by the languages in CS with one being the source of the grammatical structure that governs the bilingual clause, which is rather parallel with pidgins. The participating languages are the Matrix Language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL). Myers-Scotton (2005:16) describes the ML as the dominant language that supplies the morphosyntactic frame ("morpheme order and morphemes that indicate grammatical relationships across maximal projections") of the bilingual clause, while the other language that supplies content morphemes to the constituents within the bilingual clause is the Embedded Language (EL). This means that the EL is constrained from supplying syntactically active system morphemes in mixed constituents (Finlayson *et al* (1998:404).

Myers-Scotton (2005:16) also notes that the EL may supply monolingual EL phrases which follow the grammatical structure of the EL as "islands". Although the ML and the EL both contribute morphemes during bilingual production or CS performance, it is clear from their roles that their activation levels in a conversation are different (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000:266); that is, one plays a more prominent role than the other.

The MLF is more focused on intra-sentential than inter-sentential CS. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000:265) purport only to deal with intra-sentential CS because that is the only part of CS where the grammars of the two languages are in contact, whereas in inter-sentential CS, grammars although juxtaposed operate separately. At the core of intra-sentential CS discussion is the analysis of the CP (briefly discussed earlier under types of CS). According to the MLF model there are three types of constituents found in a CP; ML + EL constituents (mixed constituents), ML islands and EL islands (Finlayson *et al* 1998:405). The islands are separate monolingual

phrases that are grammatically well-formed in their respective languages (Myers-Scotton 2005:17). The different constituents help predict (through frequency of occurrence) the bilingual competence level of the speakers performing CS.

The MLF model has since its inception drawn attention from supporters and critics alike. One of its major critics, MacSwan (2004; 2005), was involved in a series of back and forth criticisms and responses with Myers-Scotton and her co-authors (Jake *et al* 2002, 2005). MacSwan (2005:1) argues that the MLF model should be rejected for both theoretical and empirical reasons. MacSwan (2005:9) further argues that Myers-Scotton's (1993) description of the ML as the language which contributes the greater number of morphemes to the discourse, and that it may change across time and even within a conversation, causes confusion as it makes it hard to tell which language is the ML and which the EL, or even whether these roles are stable. MacSwan (2005:11) also criticises the MLF model for not separating code-switching and borrowing, which clearly reflects his support for the distinction between the two phenomena.

Whether the CS and borrowing are separable or not does not reflect the shortcomings of the model, but a difference of opinion. Although Simango's (2000) data supports the MLF (and its 1995 updates), he holds a different view when it comes to the distinction between borrowing and code-switching. On describing why data analysed in his work represents cases of borrowing and not code-switching, even though similar examples have been cited in other studies on CS between English and Bantu languages, Simango (2000:504) argues that, the English lexemes in Chichewa have been modified such that some have become unrecognizable to those in the source language. The other reason he raises is that the foreign forms happen regularly in the speech of urban Chichewa speakers regardless of whether they are bilingual or monolingual. The reaction

to the MLF model prompted Myers-Scotton and associates to further develop it; updating it to what they call the 4-M.

The 4-M model

In counteracting the backlash from her critics, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) come up with the updated version of the MLF-model and call it the 4-M model. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000:2) introduce the 4-M model as "the submodel of the extended MLF model." The 4-M model explicates the difference between content and system morphemes, which the MLF does not fully explain, by classifying them into four types (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000:3). The morphemes are classified into content and early system morphemes which are said to pattern together as they are conceptually activated. There are also late system morphemes, which are classified into bridges and outsiders. These bring morphemes together to form larger constituents, although the latter refers to information outside their maximal projection.

Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000:3) note that although the 4-M model is designed to add to the explanatory value of the MLF model for classic code-switching, it has unexpectedly proven applicable to various types of language contact phenomena as well as monolingual data. Nonetheless, reviewers of the model seem to have a different opinion. Muysken (2005:512) points out that the 4-M model, although informative with regard to distinguishing different functional elements, appears equivocal as researchers apply the notion of maximal projection that differentiates between bridges and outsiders differently.

Despite the criticism, the researcher finds the MLF-model (and its updates) best suited for the analysis of data in the current study because not only has it been the most influential in CS structural studies, it has also been successfully applied to other language pairs/groups, especially

Sesotho-English and other pairs in the African languages context (Swahili-English by Myers-Scotton 1997; Southern Sotho-Tswana by Finlayson and Slabbert 1997; Chichewa-English by Simango 2000; Xhosa-English by Simango 2011). Mesthrie (2009:91) mentions that although there are doubts regarding Myers-Scotton's (1993) structural model, it has proven to be appropriate in the analysis of interactions in the multilingual postcolonial contexts in Africa in terms of the social motivations for CS. Mesthrie and Hurst (2013:108) also take the view that the updated version of the MLF-model and Muysken's (1997) trichotomy (alternation, insertion and congruent lexicalization) are of central importance in contact studies with regard to CS.

Muysken's trichotomy and the extended (2013) version

Another model developed to minimise CS complexity is Muysken's trichotomy. Muysken (1997) discusses three separate patterns of CS within sentences with the aid of examples from bilingual (Spanish/English) corpora. In his (2013) work, Muysken proposes a framework for modelling and interpreting language contact phenomena drawing from his (1997) trichotomy. The framework consists of four speaker optimization strategies that are aimed at linking between the fields of language contact in order to compare the results in different domains; the characteristic that sets it apart from other models most of which are two-dimensional and focus mostly on structural or sociolinguistic processes (2013:712). The framework encompasses all factors pertaining to contact between languages at individual, speech community, and the language system level. Muysken's (1997; 2013) description of CS patterns or processes which he also refers to as bilingual optimization strategies is as follows:

In Muysken (1997:361; 2013:713) alternation is described as switching from one language to the other without any of the languages being embedded into the other, making it impossible to

identify which language the pattern belongs to. Muysken (2013:713) quotes an example below from (Gumperz & Hernández Chavez, 1971:118) to further explain where alternation occurs.

(5) *Ándale pues,* and do come again.

"That's all right then, and do come again."

(Spanish/English; Gumperz & Hernández Chavez, 1971, p. 118)

Muysken (2013:713) shows that in (5), although the Spanish expression is combined with the English expression, neither of the expressions in embedded into the other.

The second CS pattern of Muysken's trichotomy is insertion. In insertion, fragments or clear chunks of language B (French) are embedded in the structure of language A (Swahili). Muysken (1997:361) also points out that insertion is also similar to spontaneous lexical borrowing.

(6) Tu-ko ba-ntu ba-moya ba-chini. *Donc* tu-ko [ba-*faible*], eh?

we-COP CL2-man CL2-DET CL2-CON low so we-COP CL2-weak eh

"We're a low kind of people. So we're weak, aren't we?"

(Shaba Swahili/French; de Rooij, 1996, p. 456)

In example (6), Muysken (2013:712) explains that the French adjective *faible* is inserted in the Shaba Swahili structure and prefixed with noun class 2 marker *ba-* making it agree with Shaba Swahili elements from the previous sentence.

Muysken (1997; 2013) documents congruent lexicalization as the third of CS processes in his trichotomy. Here languages involved have similar grammatical structures, hence the effortless switching of lexical elements from either language.

(7) (A) Why make Carol *sentarse atrás* (B) *pa'que*

. . . sit at the back so that

everybody has to move (C) *pa'que se salga*

. . . so that [she] may get out

(Spanish/English; Poplack, 1980, p. 589)

In sentence (7) Muysken (2013:713) indicates that fragments from both languages occur one after another as, to some extent, they have a common grammatical structure (A and C), however, B is an indication that the switch boundaries are not always consistent with the clause boundaries.

Muysken (2013:713) expands his trichotomy by adding one more strategy to the CS strategies discussed above. He calls this fourth CS strategy backflagging and shows that it occurs where some members of the community who have shifted to the second language (L2) include their first language (L1) discourse particles in their utterances, where L2 is the matrix language of the code-switched language. For this strategy Muysken cites an example of a Morrocan Arabic conjunction "wella" inserted in a Dutch (L2) utterance in (8) below:

(8) Q: What will you be when you grow up?

A: Ik ben doctor *wella* ik ben ingenieur.

I am doctor or I am engineer

"I will become a doctor or an engineer."

(Dutch/Moroccan Arabic; Nortier, 1990, p. 142)

Describing the trichotomy which he refers to as the patterns of CS using constraints, Muysken (1997: 363) finds EC to be the best approach for alternation because of the linear equivalence of

the grammars involved, and the MLF-model (later upgraded to 4-M) best for insertion due to the asymmetry resulting from the dominance by the matrix language over the embedded language. Thus, although both approaches have differences and work best with some language pairs more than others, they share a similarity of being tangible CS constraints, each serving in its own way towards solving and better understanding of CS structural issues. Hence, Muysken's (1997; 2013) approach to CS together with 4-M are deemed the most pertinent to this study.

2.1.6 Sesotho-English code-switching review

Sesotho-English is one of the several language pairs that have been studied for CS carried around the world; however, it has not received as much attention as other language pairs despite the pair's long duration of contact. Reviewed below are some of a few articles found on Sesotho-English CS that address the issue. Khati's (2008) work on 'The Structural Configuration of Linguistic Code-switching' is one of a few studies on CS researched in Lesotho. His (2008) study looks at the structure and systematicity in bilingual Sesotho-English CS in Lesotho. It was also carried out to find out whether the grammatical complexity and length of switched utterances indicate bilingual competence. Khati (2008:1) writes that his study is a response to popular perceptions that CS is an "ungrammatical mixture of languages". Not only does it address popular attitudes to CS, it gives the structural representation of CS examples violating Poplack's (1980) FMC and EC.

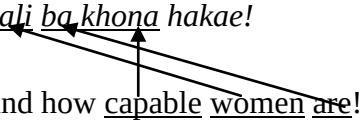
Apart from the examples that violate the FMC, from his study presented earlier, below are two CS examples from his data indicating that CS does not only occur between syntactically similar structures. This is shown in examples 9 and 10 below[7].

[7] Glossing in reviewed Sesotho work is done by the researcher.

NPs with adjectives/qualificatives

(9) *Re tla utluisisa hore na ba-sali ba* capable *ha-kae*!
1st PL will understand that why 2-woman 2SM capable how-much
"We will understand how capable women are!"

(9a) Sesotho: *Re tla utloisisa na basali ba khona hakae!*

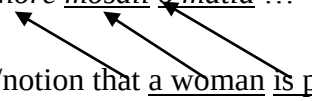


English: We shall/ can understand how capable women ~~are~~!

CS: *Re tla utloisisa na basali ba* capable *hakae*!

(10) *N-tho ea hore mo-sali o* powerful mentally *le e nka*
9-thing PREP that 1-woman 1SM powerful mentally 2nd PL 9SM take *kae*?
where
"Where do you get the idea that a woman is mentally powerful?"

(10a) Sesotho: *Ntho ea hore mosali o matla* …



English: The idea/notion that a woman is powerful…

CS: *Ntho ea hore mosali* o powerful …

(*Khati 2008:11*)

In his work, Khati (2008:10) uses examples, labelled here (9) and (10) and other similar examples that are not quoted here to illustrate that a switch is permissible within a NP with an adjective even if the languages involved do not share the same adjective placement rule in the NP. In the Sesotho structure, adjectives can only go in predicative position; meaning they only go after the verb and/or concord, but not before the noun, while in English adjectives can be either attributive or predicative. This however does not prohibit CS between Sesotho and English from happening. Providing Sesotho examples for switched elements, he shows how they can be

mapped onto each other point-by-point. Examples above show that CS does not only occur between languages with similar syntactic structure. In example (9a) CS occurs even though elements do not map onto each other, therefore contravening the EC while (10a) presents CS occurring in a linear structure.

Makoe (2004) also writes on Sesotho-English CS. Carried out in a multilingual setting, her study looks at CS between English and Sesotho languages (Sesotho, Sepedi and Setswana). In discussing her data, Makoe (2004) uses five theoretical approaches, three of which are mentioned in this study (Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, Sankoff and Poplack's (1981) Free Morpheme Constraint (FMC) and Equivalence Constraint (EC) and two others which will not be dealt with here.

Having tested and compared all the frameworks on CS data in her study, Makoe (2004:210) comes to a conclusion that all the models have their share of loopholes. However, she discovered that Myers-Scotton's (1993) model can be applied and proved viable in her analysis. She also found some examples in her data that violated the FMC and the EC. Here are some of the examples found in her data:

Free Morpheme Constraint

(11) *O* *ik-etsa* bookworm-*nyana*.
1SG REFL-do bookworm-DIM
"You behave like some bookworm."

(S.Sotho-English CS, *Makoe 2004:208*)

In example (11) the English free morpheme (noun) 'bookworm' is inflected with a Sesotho bound morpheme (suffix) *–nyana* to give it a derogatory meaning. Hence, it violates the FMC rule that "a switch cannot occur between a stem of a word in one language and affixes or bound

morphemes in another language," Poplack (1980) quoted in (Khati 2008:2). Otherwise CS and CM between agglutinating and non-agglutinating languages would be limited or impossible.

Equivalence Constraint

(12) *Re tla fetsa go kwala* essay in the morning.

1st PL will finish PRT INF.write

"We will finish writing the essay in the morning."

(Tswana-English CS, *Makoe 2004:209*)

In example (12) although Sesotho and English have the same word order (SVO), their order of elements within the phrases (NP, AdvP, and PP) is different, as indicated in the noun phrase (NP) 'the essay' in (12a).

It looks as though there is some equivalence or rather one-to-one correspondence on the structures (SVO) of the sentences in both languages until one gets to the order of the phrases in both languages. The Tswana NP in example (12) lacks a determiner, and therefore does not exactly map on to the English NP as indicated in (12a).

(12a) the essay ***vs*** Ø pôlêlô

(det) (n) (det) (n)

There is no article in the Sotho (Tswana) NP, therefore the given example violates the EC rule that, "...in order for CS to take place, the two languages in question have to have identical surface structure on either side of a switch point" Sankoff and Poplack (1981:4). What poses a

problem with the EC rule is that it is not clear how deep the identity or linearity of the surface structure between the languages should go.

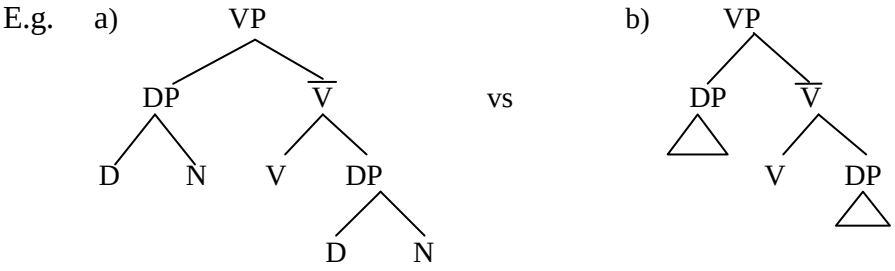


Figure 4. Phrase structure tree diagrams

Tree diagram (4a) represents the surface structure of a phrase analysed down to the minutiae whereas tree diagram (4b) illustrates only pertinent details for the point under discussion. The triangles in tree diagram (b), also a kind of notational device, represent constituents with complex internal structure (Crystal 1991:361). To what extent should the grammars of the languages involved in CS or CM correspond for them not to violate the EC rule?

The two studies on Sesotho-English CS reviewed above demonstrate the successful models suitable for the analysis of Sesotho-English CS, while also highlighting the shortcomings in other models. Next I discuss the other vital key element in this study – linguistic convergence.

2.2 Linguistic convergence

There seems to be a difference of opinion among scholars of contact linguistics as to which label should be used for the process of linguistic convergence (hereafter convergence), as is the case with other contact processes as indicated with CS and CM discussed earlier. Although referred to as convergence in this work, there's a wide range of terminology used to refer to the process whereby languages which are in contact for a long period of time begin to become alike, whether unidirectionally or bidirectionally. In addition closely related topics and terms include:

grammaticalisation (Poplack 1983), grammatical replication (Heine and Kuteva 2005), congruent lexicalization (Toribio 2004) metatypy and koineisation (Ross 2007).

Regardless of the different labels used to refer to convergence, it is generally agreed that it is a contact-induced phenomenon that takes place in communities with a high degree of bilingualism. Bilingualism here refers to the speaker's ability to function in both languages in conversational interaction (Wei 2000:13). Bilingualism, as Wei (2000:21) states, takes different forms and directions depending on a variety of social factors. Hence, convergence as a by-product of bilingualism is also influenced by social factors among which are the demographics of the various language communities, the distribution of power between the languages in contact (Backus 2004:179), exposure to the target language and school teachers' proficiency in the dominant language. According with Backus's (2004) statement is Myers-Scotton's (2002:52) comment that wherever there is bilingualism there's always unequal distribution of power (where one language holds a higher status than the other and is required in almost all sectors (education, law, economics, etc.) between the languages involved. She further adds that although structural convergence may affect both languages, the less powerful is definitely affected the most. In other words aspects such as level of proficiency and language status and preference lead to asymmetrical dominance, which determines the direction of change in convergence.

2.2.1 Convergence – unilateral or bilateral?

There is lack of consensus among researchers, on whether convergence is unilaterally or bilaterally, or even multilaterally influenced where there are more than two languages involved. Poplack (1983:121) defines convergence as a process whereby one language, usually the subordinate one, goes through change by favoring similar forms to those in the super-ordinate language and getting rid of those which are not parallel to it. Convergence, based on Poplack's

definition, is a unilateral process, as only the subordinate language changes while the other seems unaffected. Convergence for Johanson (2008:76) means that codes become more similar to each other, whether unilaterally or bilaterally. However, it should be noted that although he acknowledges that convergence can also be due to bilateral influence, which he describes as the movement of codes towards each other, Johanson (2008:76) takes the view that convergence is mostly due to unilateral influence, which he refers to as "a one-sided inclination with one code approaching the other and becoming more similar to it." Unidirectionality is also endorsed by Heine and Kuteva (2005:9), who despite referring to their phenomena as grammatical replication, liken their phenomena to Johanson's (1992; 2002a) work on code-copying (CC), which seems to share similar characteristics with convergence. However, in his work, Johanson (2002:255; 2008:77) creates an impression that successive CC or extensive copying processes may lead to convergence. Johanson (2006:4) defines CC as the "insertion of copies of elements from a Model Code into clauses of a Basic Code" and further notes that it implies unidirectional convergence. Also in support of unidirectionality is Myers-Scotton's (2002:101) description of convergence as "the influence of one language on the structure of another". Myers-Scotton (2002:100) also states that she does not see the process of convergence as a whole, as bidirectional.

On the contrary, in a different sociolinguistic context McCormick (2004:228) argues for two-way convergence in English-Afrikaans in Cape Town, stating that the local varieties of English and Afrikaans in District Six are bound to display signs of linguistic convergence since Afrikaans-dominant parents speak mainly L2 English to their children. For Thomason (2001:262) convergence is, "a process through which two or more languages in contact change to become more like each other - especially when both or all of the languages change." This

means it is considered bidirectional in this case. Thomason (2001:89), partly agreeing with the definition of convergence, argues that the common definition, being a process whereby two or more languages become more like each other makes almost every case of contact-induced change a case of convergence. Therefore to make it less ambiguous she adds that changes should not be unidirectional, meaning both or all languages in contact should go through change. She further says that all languages involved should be represented in the resulting convergent structures, so that no single language is completely responsible for change. Unlike Thomason, Ross (2007:133) diverges from this notion of convergence, arguing that languages in contact do not typically become similar, but one language (replica) undergoes change to match the model language, the process he refers to as metatypy. Ross (2007:133-4) however, adds further confusion to the topic as he notes that he does not rule out that convergence occurs, and that if it does, it is a result of separate processes affecting each language, the process he refers to as koineisation. However, this term usually implies the formation of one new code or language out of similar antecedent codes (Mesthrie 2001).

Whether convergence is unidirectional or bidirectional will be determined by the social factors governing the languages in question. Johanson (2003) quoted in Ross (2007:133-4) shares the view that convergence may result from either unilateral or bilateral influence. In situations where languages share equal status within a community, there are high chances that the languages will influence each other and both or all contribute to the structural changes affecting the languages involved, thereby resulting in bidirectional or multidirectional convergence. On the other hand in cases where languages do not have equal power or status (superstratum vs. substratum), there will definitely be unilateral convergence whereby features of the socially or economically dominant language are imposed on the other language leading to changes that make its structure

partially similar to that of the powerful language. This matter also varies for different individuals (highly proficient vs. less proficient bilinguals) within a community thereby resulting in different directions and levels of convergence for different groups of people.

Aikhenvald (2006:47) posits three possible scenarios that happen when languages converge:

(a) All languages in the area adopt new patterns without losing the old ones.
(b) Languages in contact acquire new common grammar.
(c) One language adopts the grammar[8] of another.

Scenarios (a) and (b) represent situations where there is no dominant language in contact situation, whereas (c) is a case of unequal power between the languages where one dominates the other. Hence convergence can be both unilateral and bilateral regardless of the different terminology used to describe the scenarios.

2.2.2 Approaches to linguistic convergence

Linguistic convergence is mostly common and has been vastly researched in Areal linguistics: Indo Aryan/ Dravidian (Gumperz and Wilson 1971); Indo-Portuguese Creole (Smith 1979); German-Hungarian-Slovanic (Hansen 2005); Sri Lanka Sprachbund (Bakker 2006) to name a few. Muysken (2013:717) lists convergence as one of the four main strategies for the origin of Creoles, and states that it is a result of "a relative balance over a longer period between speakers of the L2 and a single important L1." As noted in chapter 1, there have not been any studies conducted on Sesotho-English convergence that the researcher is aware of. As a result the study relies on other studies carried out elsewhere around the world for review regarding the subject. This study therefore serves as a preliminary study in this area.

[8] Grammar here could be substituted for the morpho-syntactic features since grammar is a very broad term that encompasses a wide spectrum of phenomena.

The diachronic approach to the study of convergence

One of the early works that has been broadly referenced on the topic is Gumperz and Wilson's (1971) study which focuses on convergence between three Indian languages (Kannada, Urdu and Marathi). In their work, Gumperz and Wilson (1971:151) mention that historical linguists make constant reference to extensive contact due to bilingualism as a major influence of language convergence. They also note that central to this issue is diffusion; a process whereby linguistic features are transferred from one language to the other. Gumperz and Wilson (1971:151) add that prior to their study, research on convergence focused on the historical origin of the features of Marathi, Kannada and Urdu in Kupwar (diachronic) discussed in their study. They point out that the analysis was such that the features that deviated from the grammatical rules of their language and happened to follow those of the other language in contact with the first language were regarded a result of convergence. Gumperz and Wilson (1971) deviate from the hypothetical practice of relying on the historical origin of deviant features in dealing with convergence, and switch to a synchronic approach. They compare the local varieties to their corresponding standard language varieties as speakers alternate among them, the outcome of which is used to explain the sociolinguistic nature of the convergence processes.

However, Kulkarni-Joshi (2016)'s fieldwork in the same village casts doubt on the methodology and findings of Gumperz and Wilson (1971). Kulkarni-Joshi (2016:149) comments on the lack of details regarding the social background of the speakers and scarcity of linguistic features from the languages that provided the model for convergence. Concerning Gumperz and Wilson's (1971) findings Kulkarni-Joshi (2016:163) sets the record straight as she shows that the contact situation between the languages has led to an expansion of morpho-syntactic options and complexification within the grammatical system as opposed to Gumperz and Wilson's claim that

it led to reduction and simplification. Kulkarni-Joshi (2016:164) also notes that the methodology used by Gumperz and Wilson failed to capture evident variation in the Kupwar data. Kulkarni-Joshi's (2016) re-examination of Gumperz and Wilson's (1971) work, particularly their methodology points to the complexity of dealing with convergence data especially when some sociolinguistic factors are ignored.

Thomason (2001:90) writes, "Usually, though, the term `convergence' is used as a kind of shorthand for `there is no evidence about how this areal feature arose'." She argues that this happens due the difficulty of identifying the origin of the features. Similarly, commenting on lack of or scarcity of empirical evidence with regard to convergence, Cacoullos and Travis (2010:1) claim that there is more speculation regarding the relationship between code-switching and structural convergence and scarce empirical evidence pertaining to such a relationship.

Nonetheless, despite the views presented above based on the problems posed by diachronic approach to convergence, Bullock and Toribio (2004:91) mention that some researchers of bilingualism depart from the assumption that convergence can be observed synchronically in bilingual speech. Rather, they find cases of emergent congruity, which are not always externally influenced, between a bilingual's language systems. Backus *et al* (2011) hold a different view regarding this point. Backus *et al* (2011:743) argue that emergent constructions are not always a replica of the structure in the model language. Although both nonce replication and emergent change are classified under short term contact, emergent change occurs after decades of contact and may lead to established changes in the long run (Backus *et al* 2011:750). Contrary to what the researchers of bilingualism mentioned in Bullock and Toribio (2004) believe, Backus *et al* (2011) present an emergent change as a crucial stage, towards concluded change (convergence), that marks a combination of on-going change and the establishment of new norms that are yet to

be completed. In multilingual situations synchronic analysis is an important complement to diachronic analysis in identifying how change came about, observing convergence synchronically in bilingual speech, and comparing current and historical features through usage-based method.

The synchronic approach to the study of convergence

McMahon (1994:9) defines the synchronic approach to language as the establishment of languages' properties at a given point in time. Since convergence is a long term process whereby language evolves over time, both approaches should be used to analyse both historical and current changes in language. Myers-Scotton (2002) reinforces the idea of a dual approach to studying and understanding convergence in her discussion of convergence areas. Myers-Scotton (2002:173) substantiates the significance of combining information from both approaches as she notes that it becomes difficult to unravel the complexities of language change in present-day results in convergence areas, and to tell the direction of structural influence without historical records.

Backus *et al* (2011:738) also bring together historical changes and current everyday contact effects in a single framework. Backus *et al* (2011:740) compare current changes in Turkish-Dutch linguistic features with the completed long term changes to show that "the seeds of diachronic change can be captured in synchronic bilingual speech". Employing a technological metaphor of synchronic approach as a still picture and diachronic approach as a film, McMahon (1994:9-10) also subscribes to the view that in dealing with language change, information from the two approaches should be combined for a provision of better insight regarding language change. On this account, historical approach to convergence and the sociolinguistic approach should be regarded as complementary. Johanson (2000:165) highlights the importance of deeper

and detailed knowledge of the history of the languages in contact especially when dealing with inter-tangled contact situations, encouraging the use of both approaches.

2.3 Correlation between code-switching and convergence

In this section, before embarking on different researchers' studies on the relationship between code-switching and convergence, I briefly draw an analogy between the two contact phenomena based on how Sebba (1997) defines them. Code-switching and convergence result from long-standing close encounters between languages. They both thrive in intense contact situations. Also, as Myers-Scotton (2002:104) indicates, they both share a similarity of being both mechanisms and outcomes, which sets them apart from other contact phenomena. Sebba (1997:12) notes that both CS and linguistic convergence are typical of highly bilingual communities, where a large group of the population knows two or more languages.

In comparing the two contact phenomena, Sebba (1997:13) also notes, however, that although CS and convergence occur in a community with a high degree of bilingualism, CS requires individual speakers with knowledge of both languages while with convergence both bilingual and monolingual speakers are included, although this occurs in a highly bilingual community. Sebba goes on to describe the two contact phenomena thus,

> Code-switching involves 'blending' two separate languages in a conversation or writing. To switch, an individual has to *know* both languages quite well.
>
> **Language convergence**, on the other hand, involves the languages within a community changing and adjusting their structures so that they all become more similar to each other.

Judging from the two definitions, according to Sebba (1997) convergence is the outcome of a long-standing practice of code-switching in a speech community. Below is a

tabulated comparison of both phenomena followed by a detailed interpretation drawn from it.

Table 4. Differences between code-switching and convergence based on Sebba (1997)

	Code-switching	Convergence
Causal mechanism	✓	×
Processual mechanism	×	✓
Agents of transfer	✓	×
Diachronic	×	✓
Synchronic	✓	×

Causal vs. processual mechanism

The interpretation drawn from the comparison presented in table 4 points to three factors that set the two contact phenomena apart. The first notable feature, that distinguishes CS from convergence according to their descriptions quoted above, is the kind of mechanism each stands for. Sebba indicates that CS involves the "blending" of languages whereas convergence involves languages "changing and adjusting" their structures. The word "blending" in CS description denotes a direct cause of, and immediate change to language. Backus (2004:179) proposes a layout of dimensions of change in which CS is listed as one of the causal mechanisms of change. The causal mechanisms are referred to as implications enforced by social factors on how people choose to converse. Therefore CS qualifies as a causal mechanism.

Conversely, in convergence description, Sebba uses "changing and adjusting", which indicates the process that language goes through as it develops. Sebba (2004:13) also adds that at some point convergence will be complete and that the languages will be passed on to the future generations of the communities in the changed form. This description fits Myers-Scotton's

(2002:101) opinion on convergence being both a process and an outcome. Backus (2004:179) on the contrary posits, "Convergence is best characterized as a processual mechanism leading to language change." Once again, there is no unanimity among scholars of linguistics on whether convergence is a process (Backus 2004:180; Bullock and Gerfen 2004 (mentioned in Backus 2004), an outcome (Bullock and Toribio 2004:91) or both (Myers-Scotton 2002:101; Bullock and Toribio 2004:91). Bullock and Toribio (2004:91) claim that it is assumed by most researchers in linguistics that convergence is an outcome and not an observable process.

Agents of transfer

Another feature identified in Sebba's (1997:13) descriptions of CS and convergence, which differentiates the two contact phenomena, is the noticeable agents of transfer. They are referred to here as agents of transfer, and not change, because while performing CS change has not been established in the recipient language yet. Sebba (1997:13) adds to his description of CS, a statement that presents the "individual" as the agent of transfer (switching from one language to the other); contrarily, the description of convergence does not reflect any agents of transfer. Some analysts proceed as though languages change and adjust their structures to become similar, on their own. This is more a matter of writing style – it is obvious that there must be agents of transfer involved in convergence, even if it is not as easy to identify them as it is in CS. This could be because the transferred features have spread throughout the community and have blended in so well with the recipient language features that they no longer sound foreign. At this point it is hard to identify the agents of transfer.

Synchronic vs. diachronic phenomena

Alongside visible agents of transfer is the feature of time. Convergence on one hand, as Sebba (1997:13) states, occurs gradually over a long period of time. This stretch of time makes it hard

to trace back to where and how change began, in that, as the language evolves and changes are passed down from generation to generation, speakers whether bilingual or not use converged structures making it impossible sometimes to identify the origin of transferred features. CS in contrast, as Sebba (1997:13) asserts, occurs during bilingual individual speakers' conversation or writing. The study of CS focuses on a particular time, which makes it easy to record on-going change by the agents of transfer in action. CS represents the languages in their present state of use.

Saussure (2011 [1916]), uses the terms synchronic and diachronic linguistics to refer to this kind of a difference. Saussure (2011:64) notes, "*Synchrony* and *diachrony* designate respectively a language-state and an evolutionary phase." In this case CS is regarded as a synchronic phenomenon since it represents language in its current state. Studying CS therefore requires minimal to no reference to a language's historical context whereas convergence as a diachronic phenomenon constitutes the evolution a language undergoes over time. The study of convergence relies on the history of a language to draw conclusions on how current changes came about. Although synchronic and diachronic matters seem different, as Bell (1976:187) quoted in (Wei 2000:447) notes, there can be no clear break between them because the same linguistic processes occurring in the present time took place in the past.

Sebba's (1997) definitions of CS and convergence therefore reflect the historical view of both contact phenomena, especially of the latter. Since the diachronic approach to studying or testing convergence has been found hypothetical (Gumperz and Wilson 1971; Thomason 2001; Cacoullos and Travis 2010), more studies now follow Gumperz and Wilson's (1971) synchronic approach to convergence. Although testing convergence at the time of occurrence (synchrony) makes it easier to identify the agents of transfer, change at this point is hard to be conclusive

about. There is likely to be uncertainty about whether CS constitutes a change in progress, at its earliest convergent development stage or not completed; meaning there has not been full acceptance and incorporation of the new features into the language by the users, since convergence is a process that takes place over time. Thomason (2007:53) gives an example of Montana Salish-English convergence as it occurred during a sentence-elicitation session. The example[9] followed the structure of an English sentence with lexical items from Salish. Although the example is "odd" and "marked" in Salish, its frequent use and acceptance into Salish could lead to convergence and therefore change into Salish structure.

2.4 On whether code-switching promotes convergence

The point of departure for this study is investigating whether CS is the route to convergence. Having reviewed different scholars' work on CS behaviour in Sesotho-English bilinguals' switching, and reflected on the relationship between CS and convergence, I now look into the literature on research that focuses on possible paralleling structural changes that occur as a result of CS. Research on whether CS promotes convergence, although scarce, has been conducted by some scholars of contact studies.

The African languages perspective

English has been in contact with some African languages for decades. Afrikaans, one of the eleven official languages of South Africa, is one of a few African languages in which research on convergence with English has been carried out. Ponelis (1999:158), one of the researchers on Afrikaans-English convergence writes, "Code-switching with English, though interesting and important in its own right, is one of a whole range of symptoms of massive English influence that in totality indicate convergence of colloquial Afrikaans with English." He further claims that

[9] See Thomason (2007:54)

current Afrikaans is an exciting instance of ongoing convergence, which it and many more other instances are bound to be uncovered through "deeper and more delicate" CS research (1999:166). Ponelis (1999:167), quoting Labov on change from below, also indicates that Afrikaans-English convergence seems to originate in informal or colloquial varieties and affects all Afrikaans regional varieties. He further indicates that although convergence has not affected Standard Afrikaans yet, with time the continuance of its spread puts Afrikaans in a seriously compromised position.

Afrikaans-English convergence is also documented in McCormick (2004). McCormick (2004:219) also attests to persistent CS over a long period of time resulting in convergence. She adds that speakers' lack of emotional attachment to either of their languages in monolingual form and paying less or no attention to their language being influenced by other languages, may lead to convergence. McCormick (2004:228) notes that signs of linguistic convergence between local varieties of English and Afrikaans in District Six could have also resulted from Afrikaans-dominant parents speaking to their children in English. McCormick (2004:229) goes on to give and analyse "cross-linguistic equation of syntactic patterns" which she asserts arose as a result of intensive linguistic exchange between the local languages. She concludes by mentioning that due to CS, the local English and Afrikaans varieties are far less clear to distinguish as they share lexical items and syntactic structures which are not shared by their standard counterparts. This is a clear indication that convergence in District Six is promoted by intensive CS performance.

Another significant study that lays a foundation for the current research based on whether CS promotes convergence is that of Simango (2011) where he explores the grammar of CS between English and isiXhosa. Using Myers-Scotton's models (MLF and 4-M); Simango (2011:133) finds that CS data can provide insights into the patterns of grammatical convergence which result

from language contact. Simango (2011:133) does not directly state that CS promotes convergence, however, he stresses that "isiXhosa syntax has become more English-like in certain respects" as a result of close and continuous contact. This finding also reveals that convergence between English and isiXhosa is bidirectional, since the L2 variety of Black English in South Africa has many features influential by African languages.

Other languages (around the world) perspective

Commenting on the situation between Spanish and English, Silva-Corvalán (2008:215-6) notes that intensive and extensive bilingualism does lead to cross-linguistic convergence. She points out that it is highly practical that frequently used patterns in the socially dominant language will influence and increase the frequency of use of parallel structures in the subordinate language leading to simplification and sometimes loss of structures in the latter, thereby resulting in convergence. Silva-Corvalán (2008:214) mentions CS as one of the phenomena typical of a situation of intensive and extensive bilingualism, hence she subscribes to the view that CS encourages convergence.

In contrast, Cacoullos and Travis (2010) rule out the possibility of CS promoting convergence, based on their findings of Spanish first person subject "*yo*" expression alone. In building towards their argument, Cacoullos and Travis (2010:2) pose the following question, "If in code-switching, bilinguals are alternating between, rather than 'mixing' their two languages, might it instead be the case that the grammatical patterns of each language are maintained?" Their question excludes the fact that CS is more than alternation and focuses more on the choice of words used to define CS. Some writers avoid the term 'mixing' because of the various descriptions it has received in the field creating unnecessary confusion (Myers-Scotton 2005:132). Muysken (1997) discusses the patterns of CS, and alternation (also inter-sentential)

as the early stage of CS and the easier to recognise as the grammars of the monolingual languages in a CS performance operate separately. Insertion and congruent lexicalisation (the other two patterns) are more complex compared to alternation. These patterns involve one language conforming to the rules of the other language's grammatical structure or both languages sharing the grammatical structure. These are the crucial patterns of CS that are likely to promote convergence when modelled and subsequently imitated in the base language (Backus 2005:334, quoted in Cacoullos and Travis (2010:2)).

Cacoullos and Travis (2010:15) whilst arguing against the hypothesis that CS promotes convergence, which is not supported by their data, acknowledge that it also does not contradict it. They presume that the results found may be due to insufficient CS in the data. In pursuit of results that reveal a higher expressed "*yo*" rate, even after the results from bilingual speakers showed a slightly higher rate of the use of expressed "*yo*" in the presence of CS, bilingual speakers who frequently code-switch were examined and the results showed a slightly greater rate of subject expression in the presence of CS (Cacoullos and Travis 2010:17). Although small in degree, the rate of the use of subject expression in the presence of CS could point to early signs of convergence (not broadly spread yet) as a result of CS, however, Cacoullos and Travis (2010:18) suggest that the change is likely to have been caused by cross-linguistic priming effect "through the presence of English *I* in the preceding discourse" in their data.

While others find it impossible for CS to promote convergence, more scholars substantiate the claim. Clyne (1987:750) indicates that studies of German and Dutch in Australia suggest that in specific sentences code-switching is accompanied by syntactic convergence. This suggestion is one of a few but important empirical studies that validate that code-switching does in some

instances lead to convergence. Clyne (1987:753) also found out that syntactic convergence takes place around the switch to ease CS.

Toribio (2004:172) concurs that an ongoing coexistence of languages through CS encourages the search for parallelism between them, thus promoting convergence. This argument is reinforced by Bullock and Toribio's (2004:92) statement that in CS bilinguals are apt to lessen the syntactic options and opt for similar features between the languages, further enhancing convergence between the languages in contact. Therefore simultaneous activation of languages in the form of CS by bilinguals increases chances of convergence between them.

Fuller (1996) also supports the claim that CS promotes convergence through her work on linguistic convergence between Pennsylvania German and English. Fuller's (1996:494) work tests Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis (MLT) which states that the mechanism which accounts for convergence is the turnover of the ML in code-switching, therefore leading to composite ML during its development towards the complete turnover. Fuller (1996:496) discovers within her data borrowing and CS forms that bring EL structural features into the ML with them, thereby leading to structural convergence between the two codes. As a result, Fuller (1996:496) writes, "The data here support the contention that both borrowed and code-switched forms can contribute to structural convergence." The MLT is also deemed of essence in the current study and is used to analyse data on convergence between Sesotho and English.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed CS and convergence singly focusing on different scholars' views of both contact phenomena, from the early researchers of bilingualism and contact studies to the

modern ones. I also presented challenges posed by both contact phenomena and measures that have been taken to alleviate them. I further looked into the differences and similarities between CS and convergence based on one Sebba's (1997) definitions of the two to avoid varied definitions that would cause confusion from other scholars. Finally, I reviewed different scholars' views on whether CS promotes convergence. The next chapter looks at the methodology used to carry out the current study.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY

This chapter reviews methodologies used in studies cited in Chapter 2, documents the measures that were taken and the processes that were followed in carrying out the current research. It describes the sociolinguistic setting and discusses the criteria used for choosing speakers. The chapter also explains the chosen method for the study. It gives an account of how data was collected and analysed. The chapter closes with a note on ethics followed in conducting the study and limitations encountered by the researcher.

3.1 Methodological review

3.1.1 Code-switching

In chapter 2 I reviewed two of a few studies on Sesotho-English code-switching (Khati 2008; Makoe 2004) as I found them the most relatable to the current study. Khati's (2008) is the most relevant as it was carried out in Maseru (the research area of the current study), which gives the researcher the opportunity to observe the possible changes in CS between then and the present time. The participants in Khati's (2008) study were final year primary school pupils. The methodological technique Khati (2008:8) used was anonymous observation in order to maintain the relaxed usual atmosphere for his participants. Teachers were assigned a task to collect data so the pupils were unaware that they were being observed, to get naturally occurring data.

Compared to Khati's (2008) methodological approach, Makoe's (2004) study was carried out at University of Cape Town with her participants coming from various Sesotho (Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho and Tswana) speaking communities in South Africa. Makoe's (2004) study therefore represents a multilingual CS study as it deals with three pairs of Sesotho-English CS. It is also noted that Makoe (2004:204) provides the linguistic history of the area of research and most importantly acquaints herself with her participants by taking their biographical details

before delving deep into their use of language. In discussing her data, Makoe (2004) uses five theoretical approaches, three of which are discussed in this study (Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, Sankoff and Poplack's (1981) Free Morpheme Constraint (FMC) and Equivalence Constraint (EC) and three others which will not be dealt with here.

The current research as will be seen later in the chapter incorporated some methodological features used in both studies while conducting this research. It however took a different approach with regard to the setting and speakers interviewed. Unlike the reviewed research that was carried out in schools, this research opted for a community-based data collection instead. This was deemed the most relaxed and informal environment where speakers are under no pressure of their language choices compared to schools.

3.1.2 Convergence

On a relevant approach to the study of convergence, although not one study was conducted in Sesotho-English pair during research, the study followed some of the renowned scholars' theories (McMahon 1994; Myers-Scotton 2002 ;) and recent studies (Backus *et al* 2011) on a dual diachronic-synchronic approach to the study of convergence. Having reviewed different studies (Gumperz and Wilson 1971; Cacoullos and Travis 2010; Backus *et al* 2011; Kulkarni-Joshi 2016) on the approach to the study of convergence, the study therefore used both approaches in investigating whether CS promotes convergence by recording early signs of the latter during CS performance.

3.2 Sociolinguistic setting

The area of research for the current study is Maseru, the capital city of Lesotho. Historically Maseru started out as a British police camp which gradually developed into a small town and

into a city it is today. According to Lesotho Bureau of Statistics (2016), Maseru district recorded a population of 519 186 in 2016 census, of which 326,688 Lesotho citizens and 4,072 non-citizens make up a population of Maseru urban centre. Maseru urban centre is located near Lesotho's busiest border (Maseru Bridge) and is the leading district and city with the highest population and the highest number of non-citizens. Owing to this, Maseru has a diverse population that includes expatriates and migrants of European, Asian and African descent. It also boasts the highest number of international and tertiary schools in Lesotho, which give rise to the speech community discussed here; the appropriate sociolinguistic setting for the current study.

3.3 The speakers

The data for the current study were collected through one on one interviews and radio phone-in recordings, hence different criteria were used to choose speakers. The criteria used to choose all speakers who participated in this research, were purposive sampling. Since the aim of the research was to validate the hypothesis that code-switching promotes convergence, the study targeted bilingual speakers who were likely to code-switch frequently in their speech. The switching would be from singly-occurring lexemes to sentential switching depending on the competence level of the bilingual speaker. Further criteria for choosing interviewees and callers are described below.

3.3.1 The interviewees

Some of the characteristics relevant to the study regarding interviewees included their biographical data. Labov (1981:32) notes that one of the goals that govern the sociolinguistic interview is "to obtain the full range of demographic data necessary for the analysis of sociolinguistic patterns." The interviewees were expected to have completed high school and be at an age range of 20 to 25. However, there were two speakers who were 19 and 26 who took

part in the study because they were considered close enough to the age group and most importantly met other criteria perfectly. Also, it was not easy to get speakers of this age group to participate in the study as most felt they would be judged on their linguistic skills. As a result I used snowball method, where the interviewed speakers were asked to recruit their friends to be interviewed.

I managed to interview fifteen bilingual speakers seven of whom were born and raised in Maseru while eight speakers were from other districts though had been residing in Maseru for over five years. The speakers were males and females enrolled at different tertiary institutions at the time of research while some had completed high school and awaited admission into tertiary institutions in Maseru. All the participants were born and raised in Lesotho therefore their competence levels in Sesotho are advanced even with notable changes in their language as a result of English influence. Six of the speakers attended Private/English medium schools and the rest were in dual medium/government schools. As a result of their different educational background, their proficiency skills in English differed from basic to advanced level. In table 5 below is a presentation of speakers' biographical data.

Table 5. Speakers' biographical data

*Name	Age	Sex	Educational status	Residential
Nyakallo	24	M	NUL BSc.Ed.	Mafeteng
'Manoha	25	F	High school (completed)	Mafeteng
Nyalleng	21	F	Centre for Accountancy Studies	Maseru
'Nana	24	F	LIPAM (Public Admin)	Maseru
Botle	21	F	Lerotholi PT (year Civil Engineering)	Mohale'sHoek
Nketekeng	20	F	NUL (BComm)	Maseru
Ts'eli	20	F	NUL (Economics)	Maseru
Sechaba	26	M	NUL (Economics)	Maseru
Tsolo	23	M	NUL (BComm)	Leribe
Justice	24	M	NUL (BComm)	Butha-Buthe
Tekane	25	M	NUL (BComm)	Thaba-Tseka
Ntsatsa	22	M	NUL (BComm)	Maseru
'Makhotso	21	F	NUL (Urban and Regional Planning)	Leribe
Tumo	19	F	High school (completed)	Maseru
Tebalo	20	M	High school (completed)	Berea

**Not their real names*

3.3.2 The callers

More data were collected from speakers who phoned into the radio programmes. The criteria used for these speakers were different from that of the interviewees. The callers had to call into the youth programmes and had to perform CS. The aim here was to get CS data from speakers who were not aware that they were being recorded; however, permission was sought from the radio station management to record the programmes and it was granted.

3.4 The methods

The researcher opted for qualitative data collection methods because of the detailed structural analysis that was needed for the study.

3.4.1 Interviews

The interviews for the current study were inspired by Labov's (1981:32) sociolinguistic interview technique. The interview schedule was constructed on the conversational resource; a network of modules that comprise a group of questions focussing on a particular topic. Only relevant topics that 19 to 26 year old speakers would find interesting were covered. Figure 4 below presents Labov's (1981) network of modules for adolescent or young adult speakers which the current study drew on to shape its interviews. The arrows from one circle (module) to the next indicate the direction the interview takes from one topic to the next. This particular one is a presentation of a network of topics used with working class adults in Philadelphia (Labov 1982:35), hence is different from the network of topics used in this study with post high school and tertiary institution students in Maseru.

Labov's (1981) interviews are an hour to an hour and a half long, as a result of all the twenty modules, sometimes going back several times to the interviewee's topics of interest, as demonstrated in a figure on topics shifting discussed on p.36.

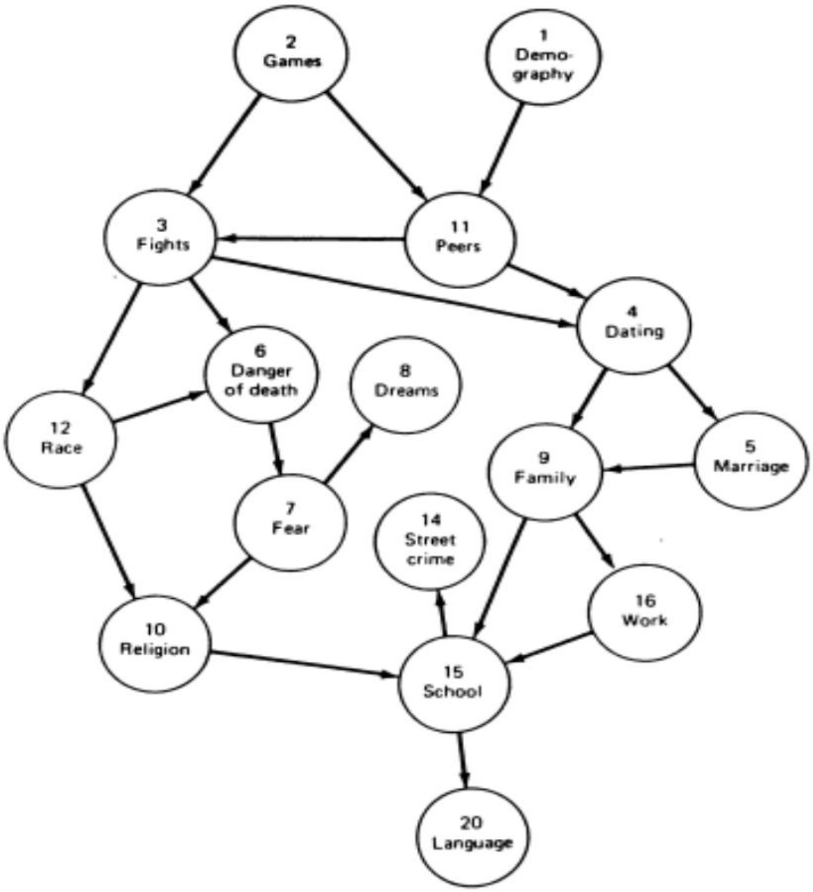


Figure 5. Characteristic network of modules for adolescent or young adult speaker (Labov 1981:35)

Figure 6 below is a remodelled network of modules for speakers in this study. The remodelled network excludes three modules (4 dating, 6 danger of death, 8 dreams) due to the limited time that was allocated for the interviews; 30 to 45 minutes per speaker and limited space for data analysis and discussion. Figure 6 shows by the number of arrows to and from module 2 and module 15 that most questions came from topics on childhood games and schools. This was how all the interviews were structured because the understanding was that the topics were age appropriate for the targeted age group. The interviews were all entered via module 1- demography, proceeded to 2- games or 9- family and would take different directions depending on the speakers' newly introduced topics of interest and the back and forth between modules

during their narratives. All the interviews are subsets of Figure 6, which is a representation of a network of modules found in all the interviews.

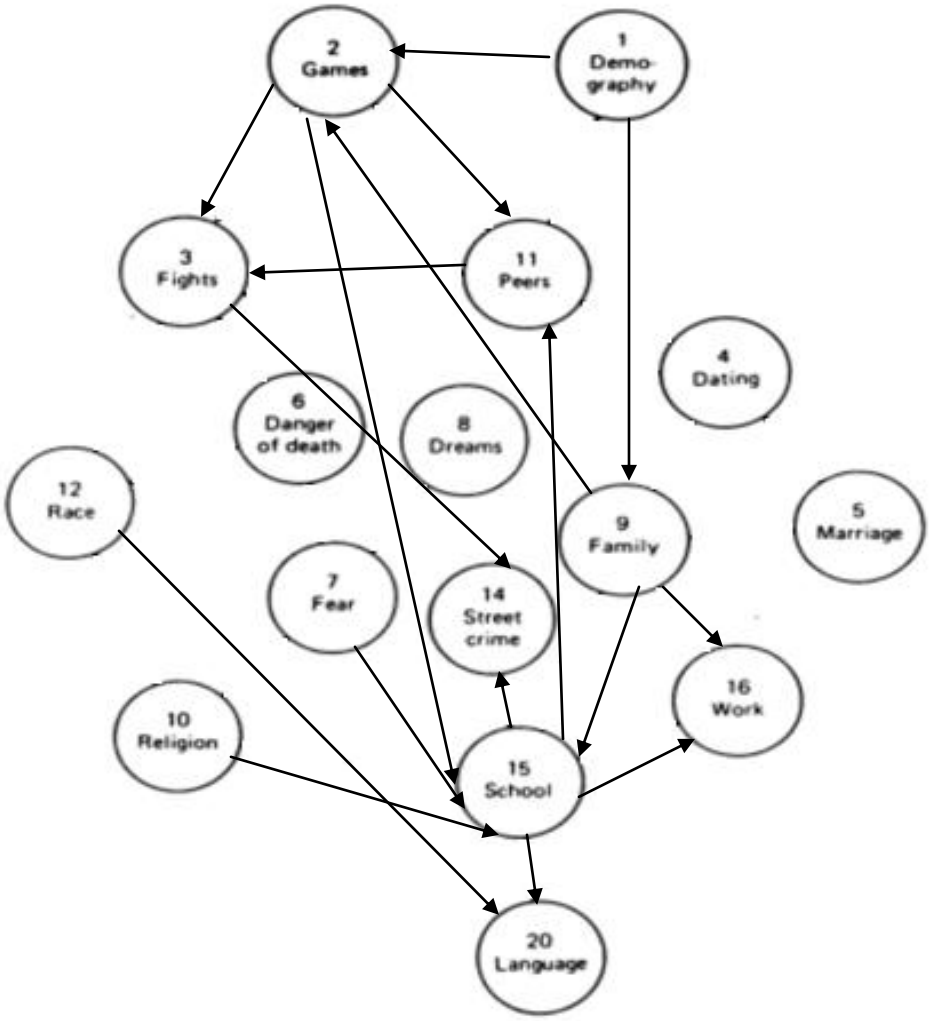


Figure 6. Remodelled network of modules for Sesotho-English CS interviews (source: Labov 1981)

3.4.2 Radio phone-ins

The researcher consulted with the management of People's Choice radio station to record phone-in conversations during the youth programmes. This radio station was chosen for this research because of its myriad entertainment programmes for youth and provision of a relaxed

atmosphere for them to communicate naturally. The radio station management was approached and permission to record youth phone-in programmes was granted.

3.5 Data collection and analyses

The overall data collected were 7 hours of interview recordings and 25 hours of radio programme recordings. A tape recorder and sometimes a smart phone when the recorder ran out of space or battery were used for recording. All the interviews and what were identified as switches, examples of convergence and internally motivated changes in Sesotho from the radio phone-in data were transcribed. The different CS types and strategies extracted from interviews and phone-in programmes were further analysed using the MLF, 4-M, ML turnover (Myers-Scotton 1993; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000) and CS strategies (Muysken 2013). All data used as examples was coded and glossed.

3.6 Ethics

The purpose of the interview was explained to speakers prior to recording the interviews. All interviewees willingly agreed to participate in the study. Each speaker was then given a consent form to read and sign. They were assured by the researcher that their anonymity would be preserved, hence the use of pseudonyms. They were also promised that the interviews will be treated as confidential. The radio station used was also given the assurance that the names of the individual callers would not be used and that the recordings would not be used for any reason other than language research.

3.7 Limitations

There were a few hiccups in the first stages of the study. After being granted permission to record the phone-in conversations by the radio station management, my supervisors sent an email

to the radio station for a formal human ethics approval but it was not acknowledged. Also, entertaining radio programmes which would be interesting to the targeted group youth (20 – 25) were hard to find on radio as the research was conducted in the year that the country's general elections were held, so most topics on radio were on politics. The group was therefore scarce and did not contribute much to the topics discussed around the time of recording. As a result a lot of data came from interviews.

Also worth noting is that as soon as some speakers were told that the research is on the use of language, they switched to 'English free' Sesotho and tried not to switch. A vivid example that comes to mind is of one speaker who said part (day and month) of his date of birth in Sesotho and struggled to do the same for the year and said it in English as indicated in (13) below. This is a marked case.

(13) *Ke hlahile ka la mashome a mabeli a metso e 'meli khoeling ea bohlano* **1990**.

I was born on the twenty-second on the fifth month 1990

"I was born on the 22nd May 1990."

It was clear that the speaker was showing off his Sesotho skills and I managed to pick up on that because the name of the month *Motšeanong* 'May', was not said, there was a long pause before **1990** *selemo sa sekete makholo a robong mashome a robong* was uttered, which could mean the speaker found it too tricky or long to say. I asked the speaker if that was how he usually said his date of birth, to which he replied in the negative. I explained to him that the intention of the research was not to judge how he speaks but to note the general changes in language.

A few other interviewees also tried not to switch in the beginning, but English lexemes, phrases and clauses gradually crept into the conversation as they relaxed and forgot about the tape

recorder. I shared some of my experiences to encourage them to open up about theirs, and even though they were a decade younger than me, as soon as they realised that we had certain experiences in common (e.g traditional childhood games), they got comfortable and talked.Wei (2000:439) quoting (Trudgill 1974) notes that native competence certainly helps the research to reveal some of the linguistic subtleties in the nonstandard language varieties. Being a native speaker of Sesotho and having worked with younger people certainly worked to my advantage in collecting data through interviews. The speakers were pleasant to work with.

CHAPTER 4 – FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents data on CS, convergence and internally motivated changes in Sesotho structure. Data is presented using interlinear morphological glossing. The chapter also discusses different types and patterns of CS, signs of convergence and Sesotho structural changes identified in the data.

4.1 Linking Sesotho and English features

This study follows Myers-Scotton and Ury's (1977) definition of CS which accommodates one word to several minutes of speech. The overall data collected for this research, some of which is presented below, reveal the growing use of English features in conjunction with Sesotho utterances in the form of CS among younger bilingual speakers in Maseru. It shows the occurrence of varied elements that include words, phrases, sentences and larger discourse units presented and analysed as different types of CS, namely: tag switches, intra-sentential and inter-sentential CS (discussed in Appel and Muysken 1987) in various CS patterns (see section 4.2); and insertion, alternation, congruent lexicalization and backflagging (as discussed in Muysken 1997, 2013) at different grammatical levels (see section 4.3).

First, in section 4.2, I look at single-word switches which I divide into two categories; one discussed under tag switching and the other under intra-sentential CS. Singly-occurring CS forms referred to here as tag switches are those found "maximally distinct from the surrounding discourse" (Poplack 2002:55), i.e. they mostly do not have any syntactic restrictions and the sentences can do with or without them. From a strictly grammatical viewpoint, singly-occurring CS forms classified under intra-sentential CS are those identifiable as foreign elements yet confined to Sesotho syntactic rules, i.e. they are syntactically treated as Sesotho elements. Next, in section 4.3, I investigate CS at morphological level whereby English lexemes are inflected

with Sesotho affixes during CS performance. The latter are however still identifiable as foreign elements as they are not fully integrated into the Sesotho morphological structure. Then I discuss intra-sentential CS at phrasal and clausal levels, and inter-sentential CS, all of which are regarded here under the term CS.

Most grammatical abbreviations used in the examples below are from the list of standard abbreviations found in Croft (2002: xix-xxiii) and some are from Crystal (1991). A list of abbreviations used is provided on pages vi-vii. A Sesotho Noun Class and agreement table intended as a guide for further glossing conventions is in Appendix 1. Numbers in the gloss mark noun classes and their agreement features as shown in the table.

4.2 Types of switches in Sesotho-English code-switching data

4.2.1 Tag switching

This switch type otherwise known as "emblematic CS" (Poplack 1980:589) is characterised by use of single word switches, which include interjections, nouns and other parts of speech. Below is an analytical presentation and later discussion of examples (14) to (40) found in the data. The single lexical switches from English are syntactically treated as Sesotho elements in these examples. Following Myers-Scotton's MLF model (and updates), the matrix language in the examples is Sesotho as it supplies the grammatical frame. English is the embedded language as it only provides content morphemes. In the examples Sesotho is in *italics* and English (elements under discussion) is in **bold**.

Interjections

(14) **Like** *ha ba ntse ba* cut-*a ma-lapi ebe rona re-a*

Like when 2PL still.PROG 2SM cut-FV 6-cloth then 2nd us 2ndPL-AFF

a phuth-a

6OM collect-FV

"Like, when they are still cutting cloths, then we collect them."

(15) *Ha ba-a n-hopol-a* **what**?

NEG 2SM-PRS me-miss-FV what

"They don't miss me, what?"

(16) **Ok**, *ha ke Ø*[10] *Ø le* primary *Ø ne ke se letho*

Ok when 1stSG FIN 1stSM AFF primary 1stSG PST 1stSM NEG nothing

"Ok, when I was at primary school I did not have any responsibility."

(17) **Well**, tertiary *u-a i-khann-a*

Well, tertiary 2ndSG-PRS REFL-drive-FV

"Well at tertiary level you push yourself."

(18) **Uh**, **well** *ba n-tjoets-itse hore Ø-kolo tse ntle* in the country

Uh well 3PL 1stSG-tell-PRF that 8-school 8SM good in the country

ke ...

are...

"Uh, well they told me that good schools in the country are..."

[10] Null morphemes are used to represent the missing or dropped morphemes in L1 for easier morpheme-by-morpheme glossing.

(19) **Oh yeah**, *nk-ile ka* mug-*o*-*a*.

Oh yeah 1st SG-PRF 1OM mug-PASS-FV

"Oh yeah I have been mugged."

(20) *Hona tjena* **for instance**, *n-ka ets-a bo* catering

Right now for instance 1st SG-M do-FV PTCL catering

"Right now for instance, I can do (things like) catering."

(21) **No**, *Ø ne re sa ba bits-e* anything.

No Ø PST 1st SM NEG 2nd OM call-PST anything

"No, we did not call them anything."

Examples (14) to (21) above function as external tags or exclamations. The sentences are grammatical without them. Rather they are external to the main clause, often as initial interactional or discourse markers signalling the speaker's attitude, agreement, disagreement or partial agreement (as in (17) '**well'**). Example (20) '**for instance'**, is an internal interjection helping the speaker structure the discourse. These English elements co-vary with traditional interjections from Sesotho which also occur widely in the data. Contrary to findings revealed by earlier research, interjections or exclamations in this study were common with balanced bilinguals whose data comprised all the three types of CS. In Poplack's (1978) Puerto Rican study, further discussed in Poplack (2002:8), interjections were used by speakers with limited competence in English; however data in this study reveals the opposite. Speakers less proficient in English did not use any interjections, however other single switches were found in their data.

The use of interjections also appeared prolific compared to other parts of speech and were used in a more 'youthful' and 'fashionable' way as in examples (14) and (15). '**Like'** in (14) and

'**what'** in (15) are used as informal interjections that have become very popular and to some extent overused by younger people, especially '**like'**. '**Like'** in (14) preceded an explanation of how a skipping rope was made and '**what'** in (15) indicates surprise. Although examples (16) '**ok'**, (17) '**well'** and (18) '**uh well'** are traditional interjections of English, they too were not common with less fluent bilinguals. In terms of content, '**oh yeah'** in (19) was uttered when the speaker suddenly remembered that she was mugged. '**For instance'** in example (20) is also common among balanced bilinguals, while other bilinguals opt for its popular alternative 'for example' or even the equivalent Sesotho noun *mohlala*. '**No'** in example (21) is an adverb that commonly functions as an exclamation in switching. Like other examples in this category, these have a discourse rather than strictly grammatical function.

4.2.2 Intra-sentential code-switching – singly-occurring lexemes

Examples discussed below represent single switches that are content morphemes within the matrix language provided by the embedded language. Unlike examples discussed in the previous section, they carry a central semantic content in their sentences.

Nouns

(22) *Re tl-o fuman-a* **punishment** *eno*

2nd PL PROG-PREP get-FV punishment DEM

"We are going to get that punishment."

(23) *Feela e ne e le* **challenge** *ho 'na*

CONJ 9SM FIN 9SM AFF challenge PREP 1st SG.me

"But it was a challenge for me."

(24) *E ne e tla ba* **chain** *eno ho fihlela Labohlano*

9SM FIN 9SM M COP chain DEM PREP until Friday

"It would be that chain until Friday."

(25) *Ke ha ke qal-a ho fuman-a* **responsibility** *e kalo-kalo*

DET when 1st SG start-FV PREP get-FV responsibility 9OM DEM-RDP

"That's when I started to get such a huge responsibility."

(26) *Ke sheb-ell-a* **music.**

1st SG watch-ADV-FV music

"I watch music."

(27) *Ha ke-a ka k-a nk-a* **chance** *eØ Ø ne*

NEG 1st SG-COP NEG 1st SM-PST take-FV chance 9REL 1st SG FIN

ke na le eona

1st SM PRF AFF 9OM

"I did not use the chance that I had."

Nouns have been found to be the easiest lexical items to borrow compared to other parts of speech (Haugen 1950; Muysken 1981), hence are susceptible to switching too. Even with existing unmarked Sesotho words, bilinguals opt for English nouns in bold in examples (22) to (27). Poplack (1980: 589) notes that the insertion of single nouns in discourse has little to no effect for the rest of the sentence. This is true for switches like those in examples (22) '**punishment'** *kotlo* and (23) '**challenge'** *qholotso*, where both English nouns fit into the noun class (henceforth NCl) of the replaced Sesotho nouns. In the Sesotho NCl system, all foreign nouns are classified under NCl9, with a few exceptions whose initial phonemes sound similar to

the existing NCl prefix. Thus in example (26) '**music'** is categorised as NCl3 just as its Sesotho equivalent *'mino*. The other nouns; (24) '**chain'** *mokoloko* NCl3, (25) '**responsibility'** *boikarabello* NCl14 and (27) '**chance'** *monyetla* NCl3 are placed in NCl9 whereas the equivalent words in Sesotho take different noun classes. This change and others caused by single nouns may be considered a few ramifications for the sentences of the host language but they do have an impact as signs of emergent change. Demuth (2000:11) indicates that Sesotho noun classification is based on phonology or semantics. That is nouns with similar initial sound are grouped together as are nouns that refer to humans. She further shows that nouns to which neither applies are assigned to the 'default' class, which is noun class 9. Hence, NCl9 is a category for nouns with "nasal-initial nominal stem", loan words that lack the phonological and morphological features required in other classes.

Conjunctions

(28) *Ke Ha Mofoka* **but** *hona joale ke lul-a Maseru.*

COP GEN LOC but right now 1st SG stay-FV Maseru

"It is at Mofoka's (place) but currently I live in Maseru."

(29) *Ø se re ets-a li-phoso tse ngata Se-sotho-ng*

2nd PL ADV 1st SM make-FV 10-mistake 10OM many 7-sotho- LOC

and *ha re tsotell-e.*

and NEG 2nd PL care-NEG

"We now make a lot of mistakes in Sesotho and we don't care."

(30) *Ø ne ke utlo-a ho le monate* **plus** *Ø ne*

1st SG FIN 1st SM feel-FV 15OM AFF fun plus 1st SG PST

ke pas-a haholo

1st SM pass-FV a lot

"I felt it was fun and I passed a lot."

(31) Ae Ø ne ke han-a **'cause** 'na ke khon-a ho

No 1st SG PST 1st SM refuse-FV because me COP able-FV PREP

utlo-ela ba-tho bo-hloko.

feel-PREP 2-person 14-pain

"No, I refused because I am able to feel sorry for people."

(32) Ø ne ke se na ba-khotsi **so** ka nako ea **class** Ø

1st SG PST 1st SM NEG PRF 2-friend so PRN time POSS class 1st SG

ne ke sa bu-e

PST 1st SM NEG talk-PST

"I did not have friends so I did not talk during class time."

Studies in borrowing show that conjunctions, both coordinating and subordinating, but especially the latter, occur less in the recipient language compared to nouns, verbs and adjectives (Muysken 1981 quoted in Appel and Muysken 1987). McCormick's (2004: 229) study on Afrikaans-English attests that the order of English imports into Afrikaans (the recipient language) places nouns at the top of the list as the most imported, with conjunctions at the bottom of the list. Coordinating conjunctions in examples (28) '**but'** and (29) '**and'** were the most switched and in contrast to the studies cited above were common throughout the data collected from different

interviewees and radio phone-ins whereas (30) '**plus'** only occurred once. Examples (31) **''cause'** and (32) '**so'** are some of the frequently used subordinating conjunctions that were found in the data. '**Be-'** in '**because'** is sometimes dropped by younger bilinguals as a marker of an urban and 'youthful' identity. The use of '**so'** in example (32) is common among speakers across the bilingual continuum.

As has been found with other urban African languages (Venda -Madiba 1994; Zulu - Zungu 1995) quoted in Mesthrie and Hurst (2013:109) and in Xhosa as per their observation of bilingual students at the University of Cape Town, urban Sesotho also makes use of conjunctions as singly occurring CS elements. Findings regarding the use of conjunctions from English as a common feature of modern urban Xhosa, Zulu, Venda of educated youth, as stated in Mesthrie and Hurst (2013:111), and the frequency at which they are used may challenge earlier findings that conjunctions constitute the lowest class of loanwords compared to other parts of speech. Appel and Muysken (1987:171) make an observation that function words like conjunctions will not be as easily borrowed as content words since the former do not have a clear link to cultural content. One wonders if conjunctions are not imported as heavily as other parts of speech because they are fewer in number or more restricted in use.

<u>Adjectives</u>

(33) *Ø ne ke na le le-baka le* **specific**

1st SG PST 1st SM have AFF 5-reason 5OM specific

"I had a specific reason."

(33a) Sesotho - *lebaka le hlakileng*

English - specific Ø reason

CS - *lebaka le* **specific**

(34) Statistics *se ne se le* **tricky**

Statistics 7SM FIN 7SM AFF tricky

"Statistics was tricky."

(34a) Sesotho - Statistics *se ne se le thata*

Statistics 7SM FIN 7SM AFF tricky

Eng – Statistics was tricky

CS – Statistics *se ne se* ***le*** **tricky**

(35) *Ke ne ke le* **free**

1stSG FIN 1stSM AFF free

"I was free."

(36) *k'-ore Ø ne re le* **close** *hoo*

COP-that 2ndPL FIN 2ndSM AFF close ADV

"It's that we were very close."

(37) Ø Ø k-a ketell-a Ø se ke le **interested**

1stSG PST 1stSM-PST end-FV 1stSG ADV 1stSM AFF interested

li-koloi-ng tsa li-terata

10-car-ADV 10-POSS 10-wire

"I ended up interested in wire cars."

Adjectives can occur within the noun phrase (NP) functioning either in the attributive or predicative position. Both attributive (33) and predicate adjective (34 -37) switches from Sesotho to English were found in the data. The latter were the most frequent. Attributive English adjectives come before a noun while attributive Sesotho adjectives come after a noun and are further preceded by an agreement marker. English on the other hand has no system of agreement between noun and adjective. In example (33) '**specific'** describes the noun *lebaka* 'reason' NCl7, following the structure of the matrix language, whereas in English it precedes a noun. (33a) illustrates the change in positions when switching occurs.

Predicative adjectives occur post-verbally. The structure of the Sesotho predicative adjectives can be with or without the affirmative particle *le* depending on the form of the used adjective. The affirmative particle *le* is used with free adjective forms whereas derived adjectives take zero. As illustrated in (34a) '**tricky'** is equivalent to *thata*, which is a free form hence fits into the structure of the matrix language.

In contrast the zero form with derived adjectives is shown in the Sesotho sentences in (35) to (37). The derivatives are formed from verbs. In code-switching the *le* particle is always used. This seems to be used to accommodate the free English switches that do not exactly map onto the bound Sesotho elements. The English adjectives are treated as free other than derived forms, as demonstrated in (35a) to (37a) below.

(35a) Ses – Ke ne ke Ø lokolohile (*lokoloha* (v) -*ile* (derivational suffix))

Eng – I was free

CS – *Ke ne ke* ***le*** **free**

(36a) Ses – Re ne re Ø utloana (*utloa* (v) *-na* (derivational suffix))

Eng – We were close

CS – *Re ne re* ***le*** **close**

(37a) Ses – Se ke Ø khahluoe ke likoloi tsa literara (*khahla*(v) *-uoe* (derivational suffix))

Eng – I was interested in wire cars

CS - *se ke* ***le*** **interested** *likoloing tsa literata*

Adverbs

(38) *Re ne re se bua* **daily**

2nd PL PST 2nd SM 7SM speak daily

"We spoke it (English) daily."

(39) Maths *ne ke o rata haholo* **then**.

Maths PST 1st SM 3OM like very much then

"I enjoyed Maths very much then."

(40) *Bo ha u fihl-ile bo* **late** *se-kolo-ng*

PTCL when 2nd SG arrive-PRF PTCL late 7-school-LOC

"Like when you have arrived late at school."

Following nouns, verbs and adjectives, adverbs have also been found easy to switch. This is reflected in the current study as well, with adverbs of time being the most switched. There were also adverbs of degree in the data; however they were less frequent compared to adverbs of time. The two examples found were '**totally'** and '**happily'**. Adverbs of time in examples (38) '**daily'**, (39) '**then'** and (40) '**late'** were common in the speech of balanced bilinguals.

Quantifier Pronouns

(41) **Everything** *e ne le hantle*

Everything 9SM FIN AFF fine

"Everything was fine."

(42) No, *Ø ne re sa ba bits-e* **anything**.

No 2nd PL PST 2nd SM NEG 2nd OM call-PST anything

"No, we did not call them any names."

Appel and Muysken (1987: 172) argue that pronouns and other paradigmatically organized words are rarely borrowed. This tightly organized system of the pronoun makes it rare for them to be borrowed or switched. In the data quantifier pronouns are the only type of pronouns to be easily switched. (41) '**Everything'** and (42) '**anything'** are some of the most common singly-occurring English indefinite pronouns found in Sesotho utterances. The use of quantifier pronouns in this study occurs in both balanced and less fluent bilingual speech.

4.2.3 Intra-sentential code-switching – morphological

Apart from singly-occurring switches discussed above, switching was also found within the lexemes where EL content words are inflected with ML affixes. Myers-Scotton's (1993) MLF and Myers-Scotton and Jake's (2000) 4-M model are employed to investigate the nature of CS between Sesotho and English beyond single lexeme switches, in the following examples (43) to (48).

(43) Ebe ba il'o **punish**-o-a ka hore ba **clean**-e

Then 2OM PROG punish-PASS-FV PREP that 2OM clean-PST

surrounding ea se-kolo

surrounding PREP 7-school

"Then they are going to be punished by being made to clean school surroundings"

CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

[ebe ba il'o **punish**oa]$_1$ [ka hore ba **clean**e **surrounding** ea sekolo]$_2$

Sesotho is the ML of example (43) as it sets the grammatical frame and English is the EL as it provides content morphemes '**punish'**, '**clean'** and '**surrounding'**. There are two mixed CPs as indicated above.

In CP_1 (complement phrase) '**punish'** is inflected with future tense marker suffix *–oa* to fit into the Sesotho verb structure. Similarly in CP_2 '**clean'** is inflected with past tense marker suffix *–e* to give it the Sesotho verbal structure. In both CP_1 and CP_2 the suffixes are outsider late system morphemes structurally assigned in the construction of larger verbal constituents (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000).

Also in CP2 there is a content morpheme '**surroundings'** *tikoloho* NCl9. The –**s** in the switched English noun **surroundings** is syntactically treated as the morpheme of plurality by the Sesotho grammatical structure. Hence it is dropped as it precedes NCl9 singular agreement concord *ea*. The switched English noun loses the final phoneme *-s* to fit into the Sesotho structure due to lack of parallelism between the lexical structures of the two languages in contact. This example supports Myers-Scotton and Jake's (2000:269) observation that "certain non-uniformities of lexical structure across languages mean that a mixed constituent may pass the blocking filter, but

may not pass unscathed." This example is also an indication that the ML maintains uniformity in the bilingual clause even with other parts of speech other than verbs. Agreement concord *ea* in CP_2 serves as a bridge late system morpheme[11] as its occurrence depends on the structural layout of the maximal projection "**surrounding** *ea sekolo*" (lit. surrounding of school). Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000: 5) add with emphasis that the presence of bridge late system morphemes "creates" their maximal projection. As seen in the current example, the dropping of *-s* in 'surroundings' to make it '**surrounding'** is determined by the concord that follows it, in this case the bridge late system morpheme *-ea*.

(44) *O n'-a tl-ile ka fono ea* **vibrat-***a ka*

3rdSG PST-3SM bring-PRF PREP cellphone PRN vibrate-FV PRN

class-*eng, a* **push**-*el-a mokotl-a-na pela-ka eaba*

class-LOC 3SM push-PREP-FV bag-FV-DIM near-1stPRN then

ke-a tebel-o-a

1stSG-COP expel-PASS-FV

"He had brought a cellphone, it vibrated in the classroom, he pushed the bag towards me, and then I was expelled."

CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

[*O n'a tlile ka fono*]$_1$ [*ea* **vibrata** *ka* **classeng**]$_2$ [*a* **pushela** *mokotlana pel'aka*]$_3$ [*eaba kea tebeloa*]$_4$

Example (44) consists of four CPs, two (CP_1, CP_4) of which are monolingual Sesotho CPs and the other two (CP_2, CP_3) are mixed. The ML of all CPs in (44) is Sesotho while the EL, English

[11]Content and system (early and late) morphemes are discussed under 4-M model in chapter 2.1.5 (c).

has content morphemes in CP_2 (***vibrat-a***, ***class-eng***) and CP_3 (***push-ela***). Content morphemes '**vibrate'**, '**class'** and **'push'** are inflected with system morphemes in order to change their structure to match that of the ML they are in. In CP_2, the final vowel in the verb 'vibrate' is deleted and a Sesotho past tense marker suffix *-a* is attached to the remaining part of the verb. Also, the adverbial marker suffix *-eng* is attached to the noun '**class'** to fit into the Sesotho prepositional phrase structure. In CP_3 prepositional marker *-ela* in ***pushela*** is attached to 'push' to form an agglutinated prepositional verb similar to its Sesotho counterpart *sutumeletsa* 'push towards'. The suffixes *-a* in ***vibrata***, *-eng* in ***classeng*** and *-ela* in ***pushela*** are late outsider system morphemes as their forms "depend on information outside of the maximal category projected by their own lexical heads" (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000:4). Late outsider system *-a* in ***vibrata*** depends on *n'a* 'had', past tense marker in CP_1, *-eng* in ***classeng*** depends on *ka* 'in', in the prepositional phrase *ka* ***classeng*** 'in the class' and *-ela* in ***pushela*** depends on the phrase *pel'aka* 'near me'.

The distribution of morphemes in examples (43) and (44) support the Morpheme Order and System Order principles that morpheme order within the bilingual clause, and one type of system morpheme come from the ML. The ML supplied bridge and outsider late system morphemes while EL supplied content morphemes.

4.2.4 Intra-sentential code-switching – phrasal and clausal

(45) *Hore* *na* *u* *li* **mix-***a* *joang* **is totally up to you**.

Whether ADV 2nd SG 8OM mix-FV how is totally up to you

"How you mix them is totally up to you."

CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

[*Hore na u li* **mix***a joang* [**is totally up to you**]$_2$]$_1$

Example (45) comprises two CPs, whose ML is Sesotho. The EL supplies a content morpheme 'mix-' in CP_1 and an EL island in CP_2[12]. Both CPs complement each other. Sesotho sets the grammatical frame of morpheme order and system morphemes in CP_1, which is a mixed constituent with a Sesotho suffix *-a* (present tense marker) attached to an English EL content morpheme '**mix'** and it, CP_1, being the subject of CP_2. Suffix *-a* is a late outsider system morpheme dependent on '**is'** in CP_2. Also, although CP_2 '**is totally up to you'** is made up of entirely English EL morphemes, its subject and head *hore na* + *joang* NCl15 (noun phrase equivalent to 'how-to') is embedded in CP_1. Therefore, the head in CP_1 (which is in a singular form) determines the relationship of concord in CP_2; hence CP_2 is governed by the ML.

(46) Ø *ne ke sheb-a-na le hore ba-na ba ba-ng ba*

1stSG PST 1stSM look-FV-ANA that 2-child 2OM 2-PRN 2-POSS

se-kolo ba nk-a **part** *li*-**sports**-*eng*

7-school 2-OM take-FV part 8-sports-LOC

"I saw to it that some students take part in sports."

CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

[*Ne ke shebana le* [*hore bana ba bang ba sekolo ba nka* **part** *li***sports***eng*]$_2$]$_1$

Example (46) has two CPs, CP_1 is monolingual from Sesotho and CP_2 is mixed. In CP_2 there is an early system morpheme[13] '**part'**, and a content morpheme '**sports'**, both supplied by EL.

[12] The term island is discussed in **2.1.5 b** under the heading, Myers-Scotton's the Matrix Language Frame model

[13] The system morphemes are discussed in chapter **2.1.5 c** under the heading, **4M model**.

'**Part'** in the phrase *nka* **part** substitutes the Sesotho word '*karolo*', which forms a Sesotho phrase *nka karolo* (a calque) from English phrase '**take part**'. It is indirectly elected by *nka*, so that the two words together have a different meaning to their individual meanings. So that makes '**part'** an early system morpheme, which indicates a turnover in the ML, which is further discussed later under convergence. Content morpheme '**sports'** in *li***sports***eng* is inflected with system morphemes from ML. Prefix *li-*, a NCl8 plural marker is attached to '**sports'** which is categorised under NCl7 to give it a Sesotho plural structure, which makes it a double plural noun. Suffix *-eng* is also attached to '**sports'** as a postposition to give it a similar structure to its Sesotho equivalent *lipapaling* 'in sports'. Prefix *li-* and suffix *-eng* are both outsider late system morphemes.

(47) **Well, if all goes well**, *Ø tla be se ke na le* **CA in five years**.

Well, if all goes well, 1stSG will PRF already 1stSM PRF AFF CA in five years

"Well, if all goes well, I will have got a CA qualification in five years."

CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

[**Well**, **if all goes well**] $_1$ [*Ø tla be se ke na le* **CA** [**in five years**]$_3$]$_2$

Example (47) consists of three CPs; CP_1 and CP_3 are monolingual English CPs, and CP_2 is mixed since it has **CA** (chattered accountant) as a content morpheme supplied by the EL, and also because its complement, CP_3 is an EL island. The morpheme order in CP_1 '**well, if all goes well'** and an adjunct PP in CP_3 '**in five years'** is supplied by the EL and "meets the EL well-formedness conditions" (Myers-Scotton 1993:486). Not only is CP_1 an EL island, it is also a full IP (inflection phrase) and a subordinate clause of condition to the main clause in CP_2. CP_3 is an English adverbial clause dependent on CP_2. Sesotho is the ML of CP_2 *Ø tla be se ke na le* **CA**, which is a mixed constituent in example (47). As the main clause, CP_2 is syntactically

independent, while CP_1 and CP_3 are dependent on it. This example therefore supports the notion that the "ML plays the main role in setting the sentence frame when CS arises" (Myers-Scotton 1993:486). On the surface, with three CPs; two English and one mixed (Sesotho and English), the ML in example (47) would be easily mistaken as English since its content outweighs that of Sesotho. However, as the MLF model predicts, the only language that supplies the morpho-syntactic frame for the sentence is identified as the ML. Therefore, identifying the ML independently of its structural role is important in analysing CS.

(48) *Hona tjena ha se le hore* **I want to go to South Africa but I feel I**

Right now PRN.COP NEG even that I want to go to South Africa but I feel I

have to at least go there, you know, listen to my father, then *ha ke*

have to at least go there, you know, listen to my father, then when 1stSM

qet-a **I'll** **do** *ntho-e ke e batl-a-ng*

complete-FV I'll do 9-thing-REL 1st SG 9SM want-FV-REL

"Right now it's not that I want to go to South Africa but I feel I have to at least go there, you know, listen to my father, then when I complete (my studies) I'll do what I want."

CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

[*Hona tjena ha se le* [*hore* **I want to go to South Africa**]$_2$]$_1$ [**but I feel** [**I have to at least go there, you know**]$_4$]$_3$ **listen to my father**]$_5$ **[then** *ha ke qeta*]$_6$ [**I'll do** [*nthoe ke e batlang*]$_8$]$_7$

Example (48) is a complex sentence consisting of eight CPs; three monolingual English CPs, one monolingual Sesotho CP, and four mixed Sesotho-English CPs. CP_1 *Hona tjena ha se le hore* '**I want to go to South Africa'** is one of the mixed CPs in which there is a clause within a clause.

CP_1 comprises a matrix and an embedded clause. CP_2 *hore* '**I want to go to South Africa'** is embedded in CP_1 *Hona tjena ha se le hore* '**I want to go to South Africa'** referred to as the matrix clause. Both CP_1 and CP_2 are mixed constituents; CP_1 entails ML and EL islands and CP_2 is a mixed constituent headed by a Sesotho subordinator *hore* 'that' in complementiser position. CP_1 is made up of an adverbial phrase (AdvP) *hona tjena* 'right now' and '*ha se'* anticipatory 'it' and a negative particle. CP_2 is incorporated into the clausal structure of *Hona tjena ha se le* 'right now it is not even', where it (CP_2) functions as an extraposed subject replaced by anticipatory "it". Without CP_1 and subordinator *hore*, CP_2 would have a different meaning from what it means when embedded in CP_1. Therefore CP_1 determines semantic change in CP_2 in that when embedded in CP_1, the meaning of CP_2 is affected by negation in CP_1. Sesotho is the ML of CP_1 and CP_2 as a constituent of CP_1, making CP_2 syntactically dependent on CP_1, as it sets the grammatical structure.

CP_3 '**but I feel Ø I have to at least go there, you know'**, CP_4 'Ø **I have to at least go there, you know'**, and CP_5 'Ø **listen to my father'** are all monolingual English CPs of coordinate construction marked by a coordinating conjunction heading CP_3 and joining it to the main clause in CP_1. CP_3 is a matrix clause with CP_4 (zero relative) and CP_5 embedded in it. CP_5 complements CP_4 with its subject and part of its verb phrase '**have to**' found in CP_4. All morphemes in the above CPs come from English; hence the ML vs. EL distinction does not apply to them. CP_6 **then** *ha ke qeta* is another mixed CP in which Sesotho as the ML sets the grammatical frame and English as the EL supplies the content morpheme that indicates the addition of new information. CP_7 **I'll do** *nthoe ke e batlang* is mixed with another CP, CP_8 *nthoe ke e batlang* embedded in it as its complement. English is the ML in CP_7 supplying the grammatical frame while Sesotho provides the NP *nthoe ke e batlang* 'what I want' which acts as a direct object to the verb '**do'** in

'**I'll do'**. '**I'll do'** is an IP consisting of an English verb stem hence the system morpheme principle is supplied by English, setting the grammatical frame. CP_8 is therefore an EL island in this case.

CP_7 in example (48) defies the Sesotho-English CS norm where Sesotho is always the ML of the bilingual CP supplying the grammatical frame while English plays the EL role supplying content morphemes and EL islands. This is an indication that the higher the level of Sesotho-English contact, the more complex CS becomes at grammatical level as has been seen in intra-sentential phrasal and clausal examples discussed. CP_7 also acts as the turnover of the ML as the EL takes over the functions of the ML and becomes the new ML, resulting in composite ML. The ML turnover is further discussed later under a section on convergence. Data presented and discussed above also shows a variety of Sesotho-English CS performance at different linguistic levels from simple (single word) to complex (higher clause) switching. Through the use of the MLF and 4-M models, the CS data discussed also helped provide insights into the nature of the lexical, morphological, syntactic, and pragmatic structures that underlie different linguistic systems (Myers-Scotton 2006 in Simango 2011:127) of the languages under study.

4.2.5 Inter-sentential code-switching

Inter-sentential CS differs from intra-sentential CS in that it involves switching between monolingual CPs (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000:266), therefore the MLF and 4-M models do not apply to data discussed in this section. Inter-sentential CS is also structurally less complex compared to intra-sentential CS as will be seen in examples that follow. Despite the differences between them, both types indicate speakers' high levels of bilingual competence in languages involved. Also, as Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000:299) note, "relative dominance of languages at the discourse level does apply to both inter-sentential and intra-sentential CS." That is in inter-

sentential CS, the dominant language contributes more material (CPs) to the entire discourse. Since the interviews for this thesis were conducted in Sesotho, the dominant language in most conversations is Sesotho. Hence why as discussed in intra-sentential switches above, Sesotho is in almost all given examples, the 'base language' while English is the 'language of the switch'. However, as indicated in examples (49) to (53) below, there were stretches of monolingual English CPs found in the discourse.

(49) **Uh**, **well** *ba n-tjoets-itse hore Ø-kolo tse ntle* **in the country** *ke*

Uh well 3PL 1st SG-tell-PRF that 8-school 8OM good in the country are

St Stephens **and** Lesotho High School, **and then they let me make the choice**

St Stephens and Lesotho High School and then they let me make the choice

"Uh, well they told me that good schools in the country are St Stephens and Lesotho High School, and then they let me make the choice."

CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

[**Uh**, **well** *ba ntjoetsitse* [*hore kolo tse ntle* **in the country** *ke* St Stephens **and** Lesotho High School]$_2$]$_1$ [**and then they let me make the choice]**$_3$

(50) *K'-ore Ø ne ke utlo-a hore ho tl'o ba*

PRN.COP-that 1st SG PST 1st SM feel-FV that 15OM PROG INF

monate **I wouldn't have to do dishes I wouldn't have to clean yeah**

fun I wouldn't have to do dishes I wouldn't have to clean yeah

"I felt that it was going to be fun, I wouldn't have to do dishes; I wouldn't have to clean, yeah."

CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

[*K'-ore ne ke utlua* [*hore ho tlo ba monate*]$_2$]$_1$ [**I wouldn't have to do dishes**]$_3$ [**I wouldn't have to clean**, **yeah**]$_4$

(51) **ok but** *ho kil-'a ba le* **the passing of my grandmother I was in**

ok but 15SM FIN-15 GEN ADV the passing of my grandmother I was in

high school sitting for my JC exams at that time and I didn't even get to go to

high school sitting for my JC exams at that time and I didn't even get to go to

the funeral because of the exams just because *Ø ne ke lul-a hole*

the funeral because of the exams just because 1stSG PST 1stSM live-FV far

"Ok but there was once the passing of my grandmother. I was in high school, sitting for my JC exams at that time, and I didn't even get to go to the funeral because of the exams, just because I lived far (away from home)."

CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

[**ok but** *ho kil'a ba le* **the passing of my grandmother**]$_1$ [**I was in high school** [**sitting for my JC exams at that time**]$_3$] $_2$ [**and I didn't even get to go to the funeral**]$_4$ [**because of the exams**]$_5$ **[just because** *ne ke lula hole*]$_6$

(52) **It depends** *ke-e Ø bon-e ha ke na le mo-tho a*

it depends 1stSG-PRF 1stSM see-PRF when 1stSM COP PREP 2-person 2REL

bu-a-ng Se-khooa ke bu-a Se-khooa e etsahal-a

speak-FV-REL 7-English 1stSG speak-FV 7-English 9OM happen-FV

tjena feela **like I don't** *ebe ke-a i-tjoets-a hore* **I'm gonna**

ADV ADV like I don't ADV 1st-AFF REFL-tell-FV that I'm gonna

speak English or something

speak English or something

"It depends; I have noticed that when I'm with someone who speaks English, I speak English. It just happens just like that, like I don't just tell myself that I'm gonna speak English or something."

CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

[**It depends**]$_1$ [*ke e bone ha ke na le motho* [*a buang Sekhooa*]$_3$]$_2$ [*ke bua Sekhooa*]$_4$ [*e etsahala tjena feela*]$_5$ [**like I don't** *ebe kea itjoetsa* [*hore* **I'm gonna speak English or something**]$_7$]$_6$

(53) *Ho i-tŝokol-eng hoa-ka hobane ke*

15SM REFL-struggle-PREP 15GEN-1stSG.POSS because 1stSG

*mo-tho ea rut-uoe-ng ka Ø-taba tsa bo li-***sales**

2-person 1REL teach-PRF-REL PREP 9-issue POSS PTCL 10-sales

le li-ng, **and also being an arbitrager I collect items then when the time**

CONJ 10-thing and also being an arbitrager I collect items then when the time

is right *ke-a li rekis-a*

is right 1stSG-AFF 10OM sell-FV

"In my struggle, because I am someone who has been taught issues relating to sales and things, and also being an arbitrager, I collect items then when the time is right, I sell them."

CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

[*Ho itŝokoleng hoaka* [*hobane ke motho ea rutuoeng ka taba tsa bo li***sales** *le ling*]$_2$]$_1$ [**and also being an arbitrager** [**I collect items**]$_4$]$_3$ [**then when the time is right** [*kea li rekisa*]$_6$]$_5$

Examples (49) to (53) above are a few of the inter-sentential conversational turns extracted from different interviews. In some of the examples there are both mixed (intra-sentential) and monolingual (inter-sentential) CPs, however, the focus here is on the latter. There is a variety of monolingual CPs found in the data. The inter-sentential switch in example (49) happens at CP_3 '**and then they let me make the choice'** (a coordinating clause headed by coordinator **and**). Example (50) begins in Sesotho; there are four monolingual CPs, two Sesotho and two English. The inter-sentential switch from Sesotho into English occurs at CP_3 '**I wouldn't have to do dishes'** followed by another monolingual English CP, CP_4 '**I wouldn't have to clean, yeah**'. CP_3 is a subordinating clause and CP_4 a coordinating clause. In example (51) there are four monolingual English CPs; CP_2 '**I was in high school sitting for my JC exams at that time'** with CP_3 embedded in it as shown in the CP analysis. Coordinated to CP_2 is CP_4 '**and I didn't even get to go to the funeral'** and CP_5 '**because of the exams'** headed by subordinator **because**. The inter-sentential switch in (51) occurs at CP_2 from a Sesotho dominated mixed CP (CP_1) to a monolingual English CP. Example (52) begins with a monolingual English CP, CP_1 '**it depends'**, after which there is a switch to a monolingual Sesotho CP. Lastly, in example (53) the inter-sentential switch happens at CP_3 '**and also being an arbitrager I collect items'** with CP_4 embedded in it as indicated in the CP analysis. Another switch back to Sesotho happens at CP_6 *kea li rekisa*, which complements CP_5 '**then when the time is right'** *kea li rekisa* 'I sell them'. Table 4 below is a tabulation of a number of monolingual mixed CPs found in examples (49) to (53).

Table 6. CPs in examples (49) to (53)

	Monolingual CPs		Mixed CPs	Total
Examples	English	Sesotho	-	
(49)	1	0	2	3
(50)	2	2	0	4
(51)	4	0	2	6
(52)	1	4	2	7
(53)	2	1	3	6
Total	10	7	9	26

Table 6 shows that out of a total of 26 CPs found in examples (49) to (53) from recorded conversational turns; there are 10 monolingual English CPs, 7 monolingual Sesotho CPs and 9 mixed CPs. This contribution of different CPs, even within a predominantly Sesotho discourse, indicates intensified contact between the two languages.

Examples discussed above display an array of back and forth switching between Sesotho and English at all levels, from single word to phrasal and clausal to inter-sentential and across conversational turns. With these results on CS types between Sesotho and English, especially on intra-sentential CS, there is no doubt that the languages have a certain level of influence on each other.

4.3 Code-switching patterns in Sesotho-English data

Further exploration into Sesotho-English CS is based on Muysken's (1997) trichotomy (alternation, insertion and congruent lexicalization) and its extended (2013) version (backflagging). It is worth noting at this point that Muysken's framework is broader than that of Myers-Scotton and it is less tied to a dominant matrix language. As such, it offers different but

overlapping insights into CS practices compared to Myers-Scotton. The following examples (54 to 61) show different patterns of CS found in Sesotho-English intra-sentential CS.

Alternation

(54) *ke hona Ø ntse ke lokis-a Ø-taba tsa-ka* **and**

COP+PRN ADV 1stSG PROG 1stSM prepare-FV 10-issue 10GEN-1stSG and

it's promising so far.

it's promising so far

"I'm still preparing my documentation and it's promising so far."

(55) *esale ke le mo-tho ea bots-a-ng ntate hore na* **which**

PRF+always 1stSG AFF 1-person 1stREL ask-FV-REL father that INT which

is the best.

is the best

"I have always sought my father's opinion on which is the best."

Alternation in example (54) is between a Sesotho main clause and English coordinate clause headed by coordinating conjunction '**and'**, which makes the latter equally important so that neither is dependent on the other. The English segment in example (55) '**which is the best'** is independent and retains its English structure and position in a sentence. It is not changed to fit into the structure of Sesotho, so each segment stands on its own. In both examples none of the segments is embedded in the other.

Insertion

(56) *Ø tla be re* **trave**-*tse*

1st PL will PRF 1st SM travel-PST

"We will have travelled."

(57) *Ø Labohlano Ø ne re ea li*-**sports**-*eng* **after lunch**.

PREP Friday 1st PL PST 1st SM go 8-sports-ADV after lunch

"On Friday we went for sporting activities after lunch."

In example (56) the English verb '**travel'** is inserted in a Sesotho clause and inflected with a Sesotho past tense marker -*tse* to fit into its structure. Also, in example (57) the English noun '**sports'**, is inflected with two affixes; NCl8 prefix *li-* to give it the Sesotho plural structure and suffix -*eng* to give it the Sesotho adverbial structure.

Congruent lexicalization

(58) *Kamora mono e ne le hona ke* **realis**-*a*-*ng hore* **I have to be**

After there it was AFF then 1st SM realise-FV-PST that I have to be

serious if *ke batl-a ho* **achiev**-*a* **my goals** *bophelo-ng*.

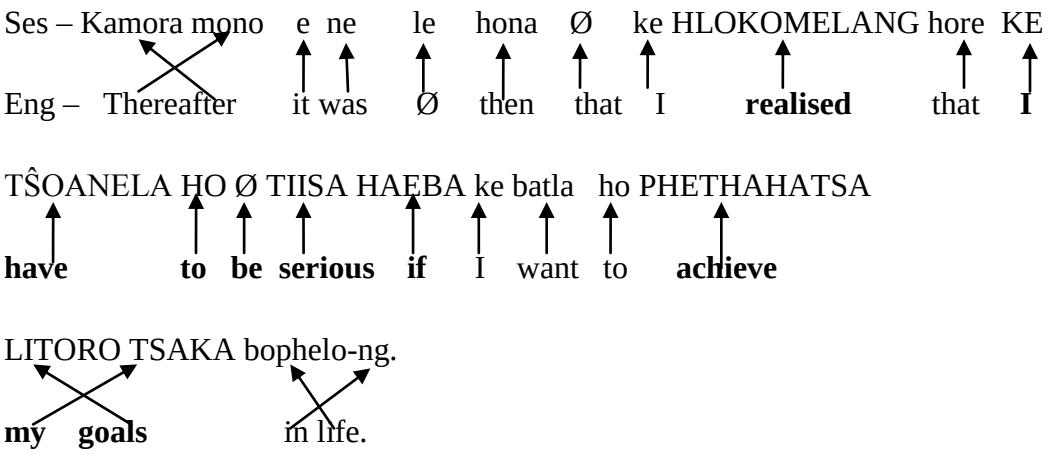
serious if 1st SG want-FV to achieve-FV my goals life-ADV

"Thereafter it was then that I realised that I have to be serious if I want to achieve my goals in life."

In example (58) even though '**realise'** is inflected with Sesotho affixes -*a* and -*ng*, its structural position has not changed as shown above, maintaining its position and form as a relative form of a verb. '**I have to be serious'** also retains its position as a relative clause headed by *hore* which maps onto English 'that'. It is succeeded by '**if'** which heads the adverbial clause **if** *ke batla ho*

achiev*a* my goals. '**If'** in the clause is equivalent to 'haeba' with which they share the same position. '**Achieve'** like '**realise'** is inflected with a Sesotho final vowel *-a* but keeps its shared position as an infinitive following *ho* which corresponds with '**to'**. The final switch in the sentence, '**my goals'**, although keeps its position in a larger constituent before the Sesotho adverbial which maps onto the English '**in life'**, differs from its equivalent at phrasal level as indicated below.

(58a) CS - *Kamora mono e ne le hona ke* **realis***ang hore* **I have to be serious if** *ke batla ho* **achiev***a* **my goals** *bophelong*.



(59) **Primary** *ho n-'o se monate haholo* **for** '*na* **compared to**

Primary 15SM FIN-15SM NEG fun much for 1stOM compared to

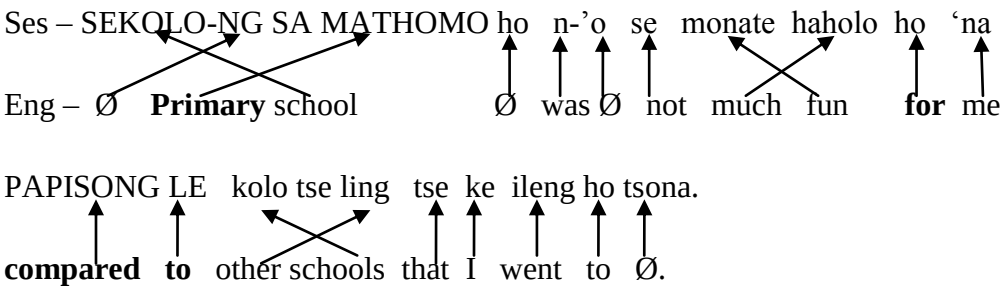
Ø-kolo tse ling tseØ ke ile-ng ho tsona.

10-school 10OM DET 10REL 1stOM PST-REL PREP PRN

"Primary school was not much fun for me compared to other schools that I went to."

In example (59) the NP '**primary'**[14] is inserted at the beginning of a Sesotho sentence holding a similar position in both languages. However, there is a structural difference at a phrasal level discussed soon. Preposition '**for'** is inserted in a prepositional phrase structure that maps onto that of English as demonstrated below. The English verb phrase '**compared to'** also matches its Sesotho counterpart and therefore fits perfectly into the Sesotho grammatical structure.

(59a) CS - **Primary** *ho n'o se monate haholo* **for** '*na* **compared to** *kolo tse ling tse ke ileng ho tsona*.



English elements in examples (58) and (59) are congruent with their Sesotho counterparts as demonstrated in (58a) and (59a). In the Sesotho examples in (58a) and (59a), Sesotho elements equivalent to the switched elements in CS are in upper case for clear indication of where CS occurred and if there is any linearity between the switched elements and their Sesotho counterparts. Vertical arrows indicate parallelism between the elements in both languages, while diagonal arrows show a mismatch in the morphological and syntactic order of the elements. Muysken (2000) quoted in (Muysken 2013:713) states that congruent lexicalisation "involves cases of code-switching where languages have substantial parts of their grammar in common, and the switching mostly involves inserting words from either language into the shared structure." Although there are cases in (58) and (59), indicated by diagonal arrows, where

[14] *Primary* represents primary school. The word *school* in primary school is deleted when used in Sesotho.

Sesotho and English have different structures at morphological and phrasal level, there seem to be more vertical lines which means the structures do correspond.

The switched elements in (58a) map onto the Sesotho element except for the NP '**my goals**' which does not share a common structure with its Sesotho equivalent *litoro tsaka*. In an English NP a pronoun heads the phrase whereas a Sesotho NP is headed by a noun followed by a pronoun. In example (59a) the equivalent Sesotho fragment to adjectival phrase (AdjP) '**primary' (school**) is *sekolo sa mathomo*. The two AdjPs have different structures, also because the English AdjP is headed by an adjective (Adj) while the Sesotho AdjP is headed by a noun. Apart from this phrase, the other switched elements in (59a) map onto their Sesotho equivalents. Despite the mentioned mismatches at phrasal level, a considerable proportion of the grammatical structure in both (58) and (59) is shared between the languages.

Backflagging

Backflagging is Muysken's (2013) fourth strategy of CS; an update to his (1997) trichotomy. Muysken (2013:713) defines it as the "Insertion of heritage language discourse markers in L2 discourse." Examples of backflagging are rare in the data compared to the other patterns of CS discussed above. Although there is a shift in dominance to English noticed in some speakers (researcher's observation) especially in the interviewed age group, there has not been a recorded shift to the second language (L2). There is a need for further research in this area as the modern-day generation of children in English medium schools rarely speak Sesotho but speak English all the time. The following examples are in English (L2) with flagging elements from Sesotho (L1).

(60) '*Na* I've always been a Maths person.
1stSG I've always been a Maths person
"I've always been a Maths person."

In example (60) a Sesotho pronoun *'na* 'me' is inserted in an English utterance. It is common in Sesotho to use *'na* together with pronoun/copula *ke* 'I' at the beginning of a sentence for emphasis. So the same practice shifts to English.

(61) I think *ke* the way we dress.
I think COP the way we dress
"I think it's the way we dress."

In example (61) the Sesotho copula 'it is' is inserted in an English sentence heading the relative clause '*ke* the way we dress' embedded to 'I think' in the absence of the subordinator 'that'.

Characteristics features of backflagging markers mentioned in Muysken (2013:713) are:

- they are clause-peripheral
- they concern single items
- they are simple and frequent
- they have a clear ethnic connotation

Sesotho elements *'na* and *ke* in examples (60) and (61) have the characteristics listed above and pass as backflagging markers.

All four of Muysken's (2013) patterns of CS are present in the Sesotho-English data, some occurring more frequently than others. The order of frequency of occurrence differs for individual participants. However, the focus is on the speech community at large. Therefore, based on the data gathered from individual interviews and radio talk shows, the general findings reveal the following arrangement on a continuum from the most to the least frequently used CS strategies; insertion, alternation, congruent lexicalization and backflagging. These strategies all require different levels of competence in both L1 and L2, and their presence in Sesotho-English

data, especially congruent lexicalization, is indicative of possible structural changes in the languages involved; which leads us into the next section.

4.4 Sesotho-English convergence

Having looked at all types and patterns of CS between Sesotho and English and how both languages play a part through the use of MLF, 4-M and Muysken's trichotomy, I now turn to the crux of the thesis; whether and how CS contributes to convergence between the languages involved. The data in this section will be analysed through the use of Myers-Scotton's (1993) MLF model with the focus on the ML turnover hypothesis. Fuller (1996:494) defines convergence as, "the adoption of lexical and structural features from one language into another; thus it includes, but is more than, lexical borrowing." This definition is broad and covers all areas of convergence found in the data. The following data on convergence will be compared to standard Sesotho (St S) to demonstrate change that has taken place, with the use of upper case to illustrate where change occurred, thus incorporating both synchronic and diachronic approaches.

In the ML turnover model, the matrix language responsible for structured constituents switches positions with the embedded language, which in turn becomes the ML. The new ML could also be a composite ML which arises as a result of a shared grammatical frame comprising different aspects of lexical structure from two or more sources. Examples that follow hereafter demonstrate converging elements of Sesotho and English through the ML turnover.

<u>Lexical convergence</u>

(62) ...but *ho* *n'-o* *sa* *ets-e* sense

but 15 PST-15SM NEG make-PST sense

"... but it didn't make sense."

CS - but *ho n'o sa ETSE* SENSE

St S - *empa ho n'o sa HLAKE*

Example (62) is a coordinating clause headed by coordinating conjunction 'but'. Its grammatical frame is split between Sesotho and English, with the one part of the predicate *ho n'o sa* 'it didn't', being a Sesotho pattern and the other part *etse* sense 'make sense' following the English pattern. This split of the predicate is a violation of the System Morpheme Principle; therefore a feature of the ML turnover, reflecting a composite ML. The VP *etse* sense is used in the place of a single Sesotho lexical item as shown in the St S clause, so that in the end there is a parallel structure exemplified in (62a) below, that represents convergence between Sesotho and English.

(62a) Ho *n'o* *sa* *etse* sense

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

It did not make sense

Morphological convergence

(63) *Ø* *ne* *ke* *ets-a* sure *hore* *ba* *ngo-tse*

1st SG PST 1st SM make-FV sure that 2nd PL.OM write-PRF

"I made sure that they had written."

CS - *Ø ke etsa* sure *hore ba ngotse*

St S - *Ke ne ke NETEFATSA hore ba ngotse*.

Example (63) also shows a split predicate between Sesotho and English again creating a composite ML where there is more than one ML supplying the system morphemes. Sesotho provides a past tense marker and a subject marker, which make up the first part of the shared grammatical frame. English supplies the VP pattern of *etsa* sure with *sure* as a content

morpheme. The phrase *etsa* sure is used in the place of *netefatsa* ‘make sure’, thus breaking down the Sesotho inflected VP into an analytic one to parallel the English VP form.

Syntactic convergence

(64) Ke eng e kelello-ng ea hau mo-mameli?

COP what 9SM mind-LOC 9POSS 2nd SG 1-listener

“What it is on your mind, listener?”

New form - *Ke ENG e kelellong ea hau?*

St S - *U nahana ENG momameli*?

Eng - WHAT are you thinking about listener?

Example (64) illustrates *wh*-movement in Sesotho-English convergence. The structure of a Sesotho *wh*-question places *wh*-phrase or element at the end of the sentence whereas in the English structure *wh*-phrase is placed at the beginning of the sentence as shown above. The current structure of a Sesotho *wh*-clause in (64) shows that *wh*-phrase has been moved towards the initial position in the sentence. The Sesotho element *eng* ‘what’, however, is not at the very beginning of the sentence as it is preceded by copula *ke* ‘it is’. This is also an indication that although the wh-structure is influenced by English, Sesotho also contributes grammatically to the new form / converged structure. This is yet another example that supports the ML turnover hypothesis as both languages have a role in the grammatical structure, pointing to composite ML. There is also a loan shift from the English phrase ‘on your mind’, which is in Sesotho lexicon ‘*kelellong ea hau’*. Here only the meaning is borrowed as the structure is that of Sesotho.

(65) *Bo-'m'e* would *ba* *kh-e* *mo-roho.*

2-mother would 2SM pick-PST 3-greens

"Women would pick greens."

CS – *Bo 'm'e* would *ba khe moroho.*

St S – *Bo 'm'e* *ba* *ne* *ba* *kh-a* *mo-roho.*

2-mother 2SM PST 2SM pick-FV 3-greens

Example (65) illustrates ML turnover in that the System Morpheme Principle is violated as English, which is supposed to be the EL, supplies modal verb 'would', splitting the verb 'would pick' between the two languages, with the main verb being a Sesotho *kha* 'pick'. The modal 'would', replaces the Sesotho subject *ba* and tense *ne* makers. So, the insertion of 'would' into the Sesotho grammatical structure, results in composite ML where English provides part of the morpheme order and the system morpheme.

(66) Those are the people who should *ba* account-*ele* *chelete* *eno.*

Those are the people who should 2SM account-for 9money DEM

"Those are the people who should account for that money."

Example (66) also presents a split grammatical frame where both English and Sesotho contribute both system and content morphemes. The switch to Sesotho introduces a Sesotho verbal pattern that splits and inflects the English VP 'should account', which is a violation to the MLF and an indication of ML turnover pointing to a composite ML.

(67) ...*eseng hore 'na* *Ø* *ne* *ke* *le* involved directly

NEG that 1st.me 1stSG FIN 1stSM AFF involved directly

"... not that I was directly involved."

In example (67) Sesotho sets the grammatical frame as well as supply content morphemes. English also supplies content morphemes ‘directly’ and ‘involve’, and the outsider late system morpheme ‘-ed’ in the main verb involve. Example (67) demonstrates the reordering of the English AdvP directly involved to parallel the Sesotho AdvP pattern where an adverb is preceded by a word it modifies. This change in the English phrasal structure indicates convergence of the local English (LsE) toward Sesotho.

Examples (62) to (67) support the ML turnover hypothesis and reveal the emergence of a composite ML as the languages shows signs of converging towards each other. Fuller (1996:494) states, “In convergence, both codes play a role in setting the grammatical frame; this leads to a different, but still constrained, distribution of system and content morphemes in the two languages.” Data discussed and analysed above through MLF, 4-M, ML turnover and CS strategies do indicate that CS eventually leads to convergence, thereby introducing new grammatical patterns to the structure of Sesotho.

The structure of Sesotho seems not only to have been influenced by contact between English and Sesotho, but by certain speech habits of the natives as well, especially those of younger speakers in urban areas. The next section briefly presents and discusses some of the internally motivated Sesotho structural changes found in the data and how they affect the structure of Sesotho. It addresses the final research question on whether language contact through CS and convergenge is the sole contributor to Sesotho structural change. Some of the changes found seemed to affect English as well, as will be shown soon.

4.5 Internally motivated structural change

4.5.1 Omission of Sesotho noun class (NCl) heads

Sesotho has a typical Bantu system of noun classification. The Sesotho noun classes are classified into twelve categories each representing a group of nouns that begin with a particular prefix. The prefixes are numbered and referred to as noun classes. The first ten Sesotho noun classes[15] go in pairs, with odd numbers in the singular form and the even numbers that follow them are in the plural form. The final two classes 14 (abstract nouns) and 15 (gerunds) do not follow the pattern. Demuth (2000:270) describes noun classes as grammatical morphemes that form part of a larger concordial agreement system, where other parts of speech are morphologically marked with the same noun class feature. Regardless of the significant role played by these noun prefixes in the Sesotho grammar, there is a tendency towards omitting them in speech as seen in data on CS and convergence in the previous section. Table 7 in example (68) illustrates omissions in different noun classes taken from the data.

Table 7. (Example 68) Omission of noun prefixes

Noun Classes	Examples	Gloss
(a) NCl 5 le-	*Øbitso* la hau	your name
(b) NCl 7 se-	*Økolo* sa banana	girls' school
(c) NCl 8 li-	nako e *Økolo* li koaloang	when schools close
(d) NCl 10 li-	*Øntho* tse joalo	things like that
(e) NCl 14 bo-	*Øphelo* bo bottle	good health

Plural foreign nouns coming into the Sesotho grammatical system take the Sesotho plural markers; prefixes in suitable noun classes that are attached to them when their plural markers are dropped. For example, in (f) prefix *li-* would have been attached to *teams* when its plural maker -

[15] A table of noun classes and their concords is provided in Appendix 1.

s is dropped, to make it ***li****team*. So, these prefix is later also dropped or omitted as with other nouns in table 5, affecting the foreign nouns (borrowings/switches) too, except for those with double morphology, as in example (g).

(f) Ø-team *tse* *tso-a-ng* Botswana
10-team 10REL from-FV-REL Botswana
"teams from Botswana"

(g) Ø-sports *tse* professional
8-sports 8SM professional
"professional sports"

(h) *e* *ne* *e* *le* *ka* Ø-box-*eng* *la* *eona*
9SM FIN 9SM AFF in 5-box-LOC 5OM its
"it was in its box"

Omission of noun prefixes seems to affect only classes given in table 7. Examples (a) to (e) in (68) reveal that the omission is restricted to nouns in classes where the nominal prefix is similar to the subject agreement marker (NCl5, 7, 8, 10 and 14)[16], foreign nouns (f), (g) and (h) included, with the exception of NCl2 and NCl15. The nominal prefix reference can be regained from its subject agreement marker when omitted. Although this has become a common practice for decades, it only occurs in speech and is not in the standard written Sesotho.

4.5.2 Sesotho form *bo-* /bɔː/

The superimposed use of Sesotho form *bo-* was first recorded in Moloi and Thetso (2014). Their observation was that *bo-* is pre-prefixed to all Sesotho nouns with the exception of classes 1(a) and 2 (a) and is also attached to several other parts of speech (p.67). Since their study, the use of *bo-* form has spread to all the noun classes, attached to lexical items in different parts of speech,

[16] See appendix 1 for nominal prefixes and their agreement markers.

to phrases and clauses as shown hereafter. *Bo-* form appears similar to, but should not be confused with noun class 2a and 14 prefixes.

(69)

(a) *Bo-* form attached to nouns

Nouns to which *bo-* is attached were found in the data and are presented in table 8 to indicate which noun classes have been affected and the changes made to them.

Table 8. *bo-* attached to nouns

Noun Class – prefixes		Examples	Gloss
1	*mo-*	*bo-mo-tho*	Person
1a	-	*bo-ausi*	Sister
2	*ba-*	*bo-ba-na*	Children
2a	*bo-*	*bo-bo-ntate*	Fathers
3	*mo-*	*bo-mo-sebetsi*	Work
4	*me-*	*bo-me-etlo*	Traditions
5	*le-*	*bo-le-baka*	Reason
6	*ma-*	*bo-ma-tsopa*	*clays
7	*se-*	*bo-Se-khooa*	English
8	*li-*	*bo-li-kolo*	Schools
9	*n-*	*bo-n-tho*	Thing
10	*li-*	*bo-li-koloi*	Cars
14	*bo-*	*bo-bo-lele*	Length
15	*ho-*	*bo-ho bapala*	to play

Table 8 shows a change in the structure of Sesotho nouns due to affixation of the form *bo-* to nouns across the Sesotho noun class list. The Sesotho noun structure does not have pre-prefixes and attaching *bo-* to the nouns gives them a pre-prefix appearance as shown in the examples

column. However, as seen in the gloss column, *bo-* has no effect on the meanings of the nouns it is attached to. Below are more examples from the data, to which *bo-* form has been attached.

(b) <u>*Bo-* form attached to other parts of speech</u>

i. *bo-neng-neng* (*bo-* + adverbial)
ADV-RDP
"Sometimes"

ii. *bo-oona mo-pheho* (*bo-* + pronoun)
3PRN 3-cooking
"cooking (itself)"

iii. *e ne le bo-khutŝoane* (*bo-* + adjective)
COP FIN AFF ADJ.short
"It was short."

(c) <u>*Bo-* form in phrases and clauses</u>

i. *bo-hore ke pas-itse* (*bo-* + relative clause)
that COP pass-PRF
"that I have passed"

ii. *bo-ha ka tlu-ng ho sena lijo* (*bo-* + adverbial clause)
when PREP house-LOC COP NEG food
"when there is no food in the house"

iii. *bo-ka buk-eng* (bo- + prepositional phrase)
PREP book-LOC
"in the book"

(d) <u>*Bo-* form in switched elements</u>

i. *bo*-potential *ea-ka*
potential POSS-1stSG
"my potential"

ii. *bo-li*-funds *tse* *li-ng*
10-funds 10SM 10-DET
"other funds"

iii. It would be *bo*-any punishment
It would be any punishment
"It would be any punishment"

In Examples (69b and c) as is the case with nouns in (69a), *bo-* has no effect on other parts of speech, as well as phrases and clauses, but it changes the structural appearance. Also, in example (69d), the affixation of *bo-* to switched elements makes no difference with regard to meaning; however, it poses structural problems when it comes to analysing CS because it is neither content nor system morpheme. In example (69) (diii), English supplies the grammatical frame and content words, and Sesotho contributes *bo-* which is an empty morph. Meaningless and lacking semantic purpose as it is, the Sesotho form *bo-* does to a certain extent contribute some change to the syntax of Sesotho.

Bo- form has features of a prefix; it is attached to the beginning of a word, nonetheless, it does not change the meaning of the word. *Bo-* form also shares some features of a filler word; it is a meaningless linguistic form, however, unlike fillers, it does not mark a pause or hesitation. *Bo-* does not seem to belong to any grammatical category, which makes it a challenging form to deal with. So, a Sesotho form *bo-* is a meaningless grammatical unit that changes a form of a word by attaching to it without changing its meaning. Nevertheless, it is worth looking further into, especially currently while it is overused and ubiquitous. Below I give an extract from one of my interviews to demonstrate its rather extreme usage, *bo-* is in uppercase.

*"Li**responsibility** tsaka haholo ne li le BO**primary level**, hobane BOne ke rata ho tlaleha. So, ebe, BOha..., nthoe mona ea hore BOneng-neng ho s'o buuoa*

*Sekhooa sekolong, BOne ke tla sheba ba buoang Sesotho, ebe kea ba ngola. But ebe ha ntse ke BOhola, ha ke se ke fihla BO**high school**, ebe se ke ba BO**shy**, but ebe ha re fihla BO**form D and E**, ha se re etsa BOoona mopheho BOmoroko, kea tseba ne ke le **responsible for sewing room**."*

"I had a lot of responsibilities at primary level, because I liked to report others. So, when..., the fact that sometimes we had to speak English at school, I'd find those who speak Sesotho and write their names. But as I grew up, when I got to high school I became shy, but when I was in form D and E, when we studied Nutrition and Fashion and Fabrics, I know that I was responsible for sewing room."

4.5.3 Pro-drop

Another internally motivated change that is changing the structure of Sesotho is pro-drop. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:99) note that in some pro-drop languages it is generally allowed to drop a pronoun only if its reference can be recovered from the agreement marking on the finite verb. Pro-drop is possible in Sesotho due to the language's large concordial agreement system which has subject markers and post finite verb agreement marking which readily provide reference for the missing pronoun.

Sesotho has up to four noun references that can all be used in one utterance, three of which can occur consecutively (as in (70a) below). Therefore in the absence of a noun, the next element (the pronoun) stands in the place of the noun (as in (b)). Similarly, when the pronoun is missing, the first subject agreement marker recovers the reference of the missing pronoun (as in (c)). The first subject marker serves as a pronoun as will be demonstrated below. When the first subject marker is dropped (as in examples (a) to (g) in (71) below) the second subject marker, which comes after a finite verb marker, is relied on to determine the reference of the missing subject (shown in (d)). Below I give variations of example (70) to illustrate.

(70)

(a) *Bo-phelo bo-na bo ne bo le that-a.*
14-life 14-PRN 14SM FIN 14SM AFF difficult-FV
*life it it was it difficult
"Life was difficult."

(b) *Bo-na bo ne bo le that-a.*
14-PRN 14SM FIN 14SM AFF difficult-FV
*It it was it difficult.
"It was difficult."

(c) *Bo ne bo le that-a.*
14SM FIN 14SM AFF difficult-FV
"It was difficult."

(d) *pro ne bo le that-a*
14SM FIN 14SM AFF difficult-FV
"It was difficult."

Other variations omit the pronoun as in example (70c); some like (70d) omit the pronoun and the 1st subject marker. All the other variations including examples (a) and (b) are less frequently used and will soon be marked. Example (c) is the most commonly used where the initial subject marker takes the place of a pronoun, such that in example (d), a variation where it is missing, is regarded as a pro-drop usage. More examples similar to example (d) from the data follow.

(71) The following examples show pro-drop usage in different pronominal positions.

(a) *pro a tseb-a*
2ndSM know-FV
"You know"
St S- *Oa tseba*

(b) *pro ne re bapal-a*
2ndPL FIN 2ndSM play-FV
"We were playing"
St S - *Re ne re bapala*

(c) *bo-phelo pro ne bo le that-a*
14-life 14SM FIN 14SM AFF difficult-FV
"Life was difficult."
St S – *Bophelo bo ne bo le thata*

(d) *pro ne ke rat-a ho tlaleh-a*
1stSG PST 1stSM like-FV to report-FV
"I liked to report."
St S – *Ke ne ke rata ho tlaleha*.

(e) *pro ne ba utloisis-a*
2SM PST 2SM understand-FV
"They understood."
St S – *Ba ne ba utloisisa*

(f) *pro ne li le* seven
8/10SM FIN 8/10SM AFF seven
"They were seven."
St S – *Li ne li le* seven

(g) *Økhooa pro ne se le that-a*
7-English 7SM FIN 7SM AFF difficult-FV
"English was difficult."
St S – *Sekhooa se ne se le thata*

Example (71 a, b, c, d, e, and g) have a similar pattern to the frequently used variation (f), which is the most appropriate form since the utterances are subject-less. There are subjects in noun form in examples (c) and (g) even though the agreement markers have been dropped. Pro-drop is quite a common practice that has been going on for decades despite it being listed as one of the

mistakes that need to be corrected, in some Sesotho grammar books. This therefore qualifies Sesotho as a pro-drop language even though pro-drop is still regarded as colloquial and restricted in formal writing.

4.5.4 Systemic Phonetic simplification

The final internally motivated change I discuss affects the phonological structure found in Sesotho lexical items. Sesotho as an agglutinating language has a complex morphological system; as a result speakers simplify and modify the phonology by replacing complex speech sounds with other speech sounds. Table 9 below presents examples of sound change found in the data and the phonological processes involved.

Table 9. (Example 72) Systemic phonetic simplification of Sesotho words

	Initial form	New phonetic variant	Phonological process	Gloss
(a)	i. *Nkeke*	*Nkebe*	replacing velar [k] with bilabial [b]	I cannot
	ii. *Nkhopotse*	*Nhopotse*	replacing voiceless velar fricative [x] spelled <*kh*> with voiceless glottal fricative [h]	Remind me
(b)	i. *Qetella*	*Ketella*	replacing uvular consonant [q] with velar consonant [k]	ended up
	ii. *Nthomme*	*Nromme*	replacing aspirated voiceless alveolar plosive [t^h] spelled <*th*> with voiced uvular trill [ʀ]	has/have sent me
(c)	i. oa *mpheta*	oa *nfeta*	replacing aspirated bilabial stop [p^h] spelled <*ph*> with labiodentals fricative [f]	He/she is bigger than me
	ii. Ø ne ba *ntjoetsa*	Ø ne ba *njoetsa*	replacing voiced retroflex affricate [dʐ] spelled <*tj*> with palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ] spelled < *j*>	They told me.
(d)	i. ba *nkotlile*	ba *nngotlile*	replacing voiceless velar plosive [k] with	They have

			voiced velar nasal [ŋ] spelled <*ng*>	beaten me
	ii. a *nt̲elekisa*	a *nl̲elekisa*	replacing voiceless alveolar plosive [t] with voiced alveolar lateral approximant [l]	He/she chased me

Table 9 shows the difference between the initial or rather standard forms and the new variants and explains the process of change. Some of the changes introduce new forms to Sesotho morphological structure, thus leading to structural change. Examples (a ii)/*nh*/, (b ii)/*nr*/, (c i)/*nf*/, (c ii)/*nj*/ and (d i)/*nl*/ are new sound combinations.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I investigated changes motivated externally and internally in Sesotho. First I presented and discussed data on language contact between Sesotho and English where the main focus was to examine the intensity of Sesotho-English CS. Findings revealed that Sesotho-English CS covers all types and strategies of CS discussed in chapter 2, and is becoming more complex. I further looked into what happens when the grammars of both languages come into contact and the results showed that there is bidirectional influence on the structures of the languages involved. This particular finding led to the core of the problem, which was to find out whether there is convergence between Sesotho and English, and whether it is promoted by CS. The discovery here demonstrated through the ML turnover that the languages are on the path of converging beyond phrasal and clausal structures. As Fuller (1996:506) puts it, "It seems that the grammaticalisation of word order appears earlier in the convergence process than the alternation of basic word order templates." Hence, it was found that CS does lead to convergence.

On the internally motivated changes, I addressed four issues that affect the Sesotho structure. I first looked at the issue on omission of noun class prefixes and discovered that the only noun

class prefixes omitted are those similar to their subject concords. Next I explored the nature of the Sesotho form *bo-* and its role in Sesotho syntax. I illustrated how it attaches to Sesotho words and phrases, and even switched elements. Findings revealed that *bo-* has no impact on the deep structure except that it changes the surface pattern of the feature it attaches to. And also that the only problem it poses for Sesotho structure is when it is involved in CS, especially as a singly occurring form, since it is sometimes semantically meaningless. It also became clear after investigating *bo-* that it has some features in common with prefixes and word fillers, but it cannot be classified as either.

I also studied the phenomenon of pro-drop with regard to Sesotho. Sesotho has a large agreement marking system that readily replaces missing pronouns with their subject markers/concords. However, apart from the fact that this practice is considered colloquial, continuous dropping of pronouns affects the grammatical structure of a Sesotho sentence leaving it subject-less, even though the subject agreement marking on the finite verb covers it. Finally, I addressed the issue of systemic phonetic simplification where I tabulated the process of sound change from standard or initial forms to 'simpler' forms. I provided examples of new forms found in the data together with their initial forms and explained the process. It was discovered that the sound combinations of some of the new forms are new to the Sesotho morphological structure.

CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION

This chapter summarises issues discussed in this study and makes recommendations for further research.

5.1 Conclusion

Frequent CS performance in which both simple and especially complex types and strategies of CS are found certainly paves the way for convergence. The main focus of this study was to investigate the nature of structural changes in Sesotho and English found in Lesotho. It appears that long-term contact between Sesotho and English and younger bilingual speakers' flexible approach towards their L1 principles, make the languages susceptible to structural change.

The study first investigated the types and patterns of CS found in the Sesotho-English CS and discovered that all types and strategies from simple to complex were represented in Sesotho-English CS with some being more frequent than others. Numerous examples of CS types from the data presented in this study indicate a rise in Sesotho-English CS performance in comparison to previous studies on Sesotho-English CS. Therefore this study documents not only a rapid growth in Sesotho-English CS but distinctly presents the complex structural changes that come with it.

The study also examined whether CS promotes convergence between Sesotho and English by looking for newly developed common structural or grammatical features between the languages. Further investigation focused on whether convergence between the languages is unidirectional or bidirectional. Results indicate that frequent parallel use of Sesotho and English together does lead to the development of similar structures between the languages. These results corroborate with Myer-Scotton's (1993:302) observation that structural change only occurs when there is a

turnover in the ML in CS. Findings also reveal varying degrees of convergence towards English. Hence convergence between Sesotho and English can be considered bidirectional but asymmetrical. Convergence between Sesotho and English is a newly documented change which has a potential to make permanent changes to the structure of Sesotho with the continued increase in Sesotho-English contact through heavy and frequent CS performance.

The study further looked into whether language contact is the sole contributor to Sesotho structural change. It was found that other than language contact; which is an external contributor to Sesotho structural change, some changes in the structure of Sesotho are internally motivated. Pro-drop and systemic phonetic simplifications have been in practice for decades and seem to be gaining momentum with time. Their examples have been documented as errors in Sesotho grammatical texts. Although they deviate from the standard Sesotho forms, they are documented here as open to variation especially in speech as they occur even in formal settings. However, with the young speakers' adaptability to change there is a possibility these changes will be permanent in the near future. Unlike pro-drop and systemic phonetic simplification, *bo-* form is a new formation that could be considered as a fashionable change for now.

5.2 Recommendations for further research

Data from this study has revealed overlooked linguistic features that could cause permanent structural changes to the structure of Sesotho. Pro-drop, systemic simplification and *bo-* form and other linguistic features that deviate from the standard forms have always been regarded as errors. These features however seem stable and are worth researching as new studies. Appel and Muysken (2005:5) write, "What seems like a stable situation now may rapidly change in the

future, or be the interim result of an extremely drastic change that escapes our view." I propose therefore that there is a need for further research on these issues.

Convergence has always been believed to be a very difficult phenomenon to prove, "even in well documented cases" (Poplack 1983:121). However, using the ML turnover and 4-M models to analyse Sesotho-English CS examples from the data, indicated a turnover of the ML in progress in the examples, which suggests that CS does promote convergence.This study therefore serves as reference and a starting point for further research into Sesotho-English convergence and other internally motivated Sesotho structural changes.

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Appendix 1

Sesotho concordial agreement morphemes and pronominals

Class	Nominal prefix	Subject agreement	Object agreement	Adjective	Demonstrative	Pronoun	Genitive	Relative
1	mo-	o-	mo-	e mo-	enoa	eena	oa-	ea
1a	Ø	o-	mo-	e mo-	enoa	eena	oa-	ea
2	ba-	ba-	ba-	ba ba-	bana	bona	ba-	ba
2a	bo-	ba-	ba-	ba ba-	bana	bona	ba-	ba
3	mo-	o-	o-	o mo-	ona	oona	oa-	o
4	me-	e-	e-	e me-	ena	eona	ea-	e
5	le-	le-	le-	le le-	lena	lona	la-	le
6	ma-	a-	a-	a ma-	ana	ona	a-	a
7	se-	se-	se-	se se	sena	sona	sa-	se
8	li-	li-	li-	tse N-	tsena	tsona	tsa-	tse
9	Ø (N)-	e-	e-	e N-	ena	eona	ea-	e
10	li (N)-	li-	li-	tse N-	tsena	tsona	tsa-	tse
14	bo-	bo-	bo-	bo bo-	bona	bona	ba-	bo
15	ho-	ho-	ho-	ho ho-	hona	hona	hoa-	ho

Source: Demuth (2000:274)[17]

[17] The original table obtained from Demuth (2000:274) was in South African Southern Sotho orthography while the current one has been changed to Lesotho Sotho orthography (differences discussed in chapter 1). There are also a few corrections made to the original table where Noun Class (NCl) 3 object agreement form was written as *mo-* and has been corrected to *o-*, NCl 4 object agreement form was *me-* and is corrrected to *e-* and NCl 14 relative pronoun from *ba* to *bo*. Hyphens that preceded object agreement and adjective prefixes were also deleted.